

Polit. Pamph. vol 13.
T H E

POPULAR BUDGET,

BY AN

EXPERIENCED PRACTITIONER

I N

POLITICAL ANATOMY;

INSCRIBED TO

Lord B. Lord N. Lord S. and the rest
of the J U N T O.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR.

M.DCC.LXXII.

THE

POPULAR BUDGET

BY AN

EXPERIENCED PRACTITIONER

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Lord B. and the rest
of the Union

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR



1884



The EDITOR to the PUBLIC.

IT is for the purpose of rescuing the concerns of the nation from the hands of abandon'd men, who have brought the crown and kingdom into the most perilous situation; and who have perverted our laws, and oppressed the people, that we have copied from their originals the following interesting papers, wrote to certain ministers of state, and sent according to their respective dates. They are calculated to restore Wealth, Power, Harmony and Plenty, to this distressed country; hence we think it our duty to lay them before the Public.

We flatter ourselves that the perusal of these sheets, will give great satisfaction to all honest men, as they will in a concise manner thereby see the advantageous proposals made to the late Lord H—x, to the present Premier, and Lord S—c—h, for public benefit; with many political and interesting anecdotes, touching a late Budget, whilst the most advantageous offers for national service has been entirely neglected or rejected, by the Premier and his Junto.

Towards the close of last session, a Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Guide for the Freeholders of Great Britain, and the Livery of London, in order to preserve their rights and privileges', was sent to Lord North, (whilst several others of the same kind were sent to many Dukes, Lords and Members for their entertainment, information and perusal,) that his Lordship might in time profit by its contents: and among other things, gratify the earnest desires of the people, in some of those just and reasonable demands, they had a right to expect from him, as first servant of King and People; who, tho' not trinitarian, are Duæ in Una, unless divided by wicked ministers for their own emoluments and grandeur; that his Lordship might reduce unnecessary and oppressive taxes, by the propositions made to him for that purpose, without prejudice to the crown revenue, as also to restore independency of parliaments, by preventing more than a certain number of placemen to have suffrages therein, and to abolish the execrable band of pensioners, so chargeable to the crown and kingdom; who, like assembled janissaries, stand ready to execute at the Vizir's nod, the
dire-

direful commands of the traytor's heart; whether by plunging the poniard into the bosom of royalty itself, or sacrificing his country to another power, according to the dictates of his infernal order; which pamphlet was sent to his Lordship reeking wet from the press.

About the same time another pamphlet, intituled, 'A Letter to the People of Great Britain, on the present alarming Crisis, pointing at the most eligible means for limiting the number of placemen and pensioners in parliament, and putting an end to bribery and corruption, &c. &c.' was published, which his Lordship had, tho' not by the same channel; the consequences of which were, that his Lordship not only neglected the salutary measures, in the said pamphlet called the Guide, proposed for public safety and national utility, but also carried his resentment so far, for finding fault with his ministerial conduct, that he let fly his vengeance on a gentleman, whom his Lordship suspected to have had a hand in these publications, so as not only to deprive him of £200. justly due to him from a messenger of State, who had defrauded him of that sum, but also by himself, by his emissaries, and by his dependants so far poisoned many nominal and lukewarm patriots of the lower assembly, as to prevent them from paying the gentleman for the pamphlets aforesaid; whilst the real and true patriots bountifully recompensed his labours, for which, I will venture to say, he entertains the most grateful acknowledgements.

Previous

vi The EDITOR to the PUBLIC.

Previous, however, to these transactions, as well as subsequent to this cruel and unjust treatment, the following letters and propositions were wrote and sent to those courtly personages, favourites of the favourite, for annihilating the happiness and prosperity of these kingdoms, according to their several and periodical dates.

The letters will speak for themselves, and as to their utility with the propositions in the above pamphlets mentioned, the Publisher submits them entirely to the perusal and consideration of the Public, and to the candid and impartial Reader; that they may judge of the great and beneficial overtures made for the service of this country, to a set of detestable men, who are deaf to every proposal that may contribute to the honour and glory of the crown, or the increase of our wealth and commerce.

THE



T H E
POPULAR BUDGET, &c.

LETTER from **OLIVER MAC ALLESTER, Esq;** to
Lord HALLIFAX, dated the 3d of July 1770.

My Lord,

(N^o 1.)

V H E N publick discontents are spreading
throughout the kingdom, whilst our foreign
enemies are combining our ruin, by their
schemes and preparations; without entering
upon any enquiry into the causes of those
alarming evils, or the dangerous clouds that are gathering
over

over this nation, abroad and at home: it becomes the duty of every honest man to find an expedient, if he can, to appease the first, and dissipate the latter.

To unite the people, to take precautions steps, and carry into execution measures for the safety of his majesty and his kingdoms, is the laborious task of an experienced and able minister. Respectfully to submit to his perusal and consideration such matters as may occur to those who wish and endeavour the prosperity of both, must be presumed will be graciously and with favour received.

Complaints have been long made of mal-administration acquired and supported, (as given out) by bribery, corruption, and other unpopular measures; whether such complaints are founded is not the question; the cry, however, against government, it must be allowed, is but too general.

The ideas of despotick administration and oppression, are now become a kind of epidemical disorder, the infection of which is scattered through the land, to the eminent danger of the state and the kingdom. Specificks, therefore, I humbly conceive, might be immediately applied to stop the rapid progress of the contagion before it is too late, by setting on foot every reasonable project that can be devised, for restoring and preserving the publick tranquillity, as the basis and security of every other national happiness. Secondly, to form such a line of administration as will pacify the people and unite their minds, defeat every
perni-

pernicious design against his Majesty or his kingdoms, from being carried into execution by the common enemy, and increase trade and navigation.

In order to bring about a scheme of such important utility, the primary object, I humbly apprehend, is, to raise a popular minister; without such a minister, every other effort I fear will be but un coup d'épée dans l'eau; the best statesmen in Europe hold, as a maxim in their politicks, that the government of England cannot be effectually dangerous and formidable to them, but by the popularity of her minister; a proof of which is recent in One Man.

If then at this critical period, (and surely such it is) a minister can be found, who will at once undertake the national concerns, and cloath himself with that popularity, which he may easily do, for the benefit of the community, by one publick act with éclat; harmony at home will be restored on a sudden, the enemy's designs frustrated, and the publick wishes amply gratified.

But the question is, where is such a minister to be found on this emergent occasion; my answer is, in Lord Hallifax, as a nobleman, whose abilities point him out as one of the most proper for this important work; a fact which cannot be denied by his enemies themselves.

The first step, according to my poor ideas, which I submit to your Lordship to be taken (*pour venir à bout*), is for your Lordship to have a secret conference with the
 B. King,

King, and to open in confidence to his Majesty alone, that you are ready and willing to take upon you the burden above-mentioned, and to find the means and measures to answer those desirable objects.

Doubt not, my Lord, but you will be furnished with essential materials for employing your great talents in completing this glorious work ; among many which will be laid before your Lordship, I would submit one to your consideration, which is, that as soon as the parliament can be called, to bring in a place bill ; this is to be kept a secret till the moment it is brought into the house, and then to acquaint the house, that it is His Majesty's bill, who desires it should be passed without delay. All parties will concur, opposition cannot object, since a place bill is what has been called for, and the bare title will forward, I hope, its success, and give it protection, if your Lordship approves the substance, or some one of the kind.

Herewith, my Lord, I have the honour to lay before you the heads of such bill, for your consideration and amendments ; if your Lordship should approve them, or any of them, I should be happy.

These heads were concerted by my friend and me, and never seen by any other person ; they are prepared in the view and apprehension of raising the honour, dignity, and wealth of the crown, of putting an end to colony complaints, to stifle opposition on the subject of placemen, and
to

to give your Lordship such a popularity, as may coincide with the most ardent expectations.

If your Lordship should think fit to adopt this business, money, I think, would then be chearfully granted, to support the exigencies of the state when called for; the colonies represented and chained to the mother country, our enemies abroad confounded by the measure, and every salutary purpose answered. Popularity is easily acquired by some publick coup d'éclat, as I said above. Experience shews that one man by writing a single paper, has gained more of this treasure, than ever was known in such a case; surely Lord Hallifax has it in his power, and matter before him, to do and acquire much more.

In fine, my Lord, take the helm into your own hands, or place it in the hands of him you think fit, and all will go well; such, at least, is my wish, and such is certainly my opinion. Secrecy gives life and success, I know, to all state projects. By one publick act of this sort, if any man is obnoxious, he may soon be dismissed, and you will save your country: my Lord, your popularity will gain you the hearts and purses of the people, at the same time that it secures and fortifies your Lordship against the secret envy, jealousy or malice of any enemy, however great his power or influence may be. * Lord Bute and Lord Hallifax was at this time supposed to be at variance, and the latter ready to join Lord Chatham in the patriotic interest. To conclude this subject for the present, you will

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will, my Lord, be what you ought to be, viz. you will be beloved and adored by the people, (unless by a few of such, as Defoe mentions, that no King can govern, nor no God can please) whilst the words General Warrants, will be buried in eternal oblivion.

I will enlarge no further, though I have matter to add, which, I think, will hereafter fill your Lordship with pleasure and surprize. I know what may be done, and vow and insist your Lordship may make Europe acknowledge, before it be long, your important services for your king and country, without expending a third of the money formerly disbursed by your predecessors, and yet you may do more. Enigmas, like riddles among children, cease from surprize when explained or discovered. Your Lordship has too much goodness not to return me the papers, if they do not meet his Majesty's and your Lordship's attention. I have the honour to be, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

With the above letter Mr. Mac Allester inclosed the draft of the place bill to Lord Hallifax, mentioned in the Guide.

LETTER

LETTER from Mr. MAC ALLESTER to Lord NORTH,
dated July the 14th, 1770.

My Lord,

(N^o 2.)

THE inclosed papers which I have the honour to lay before you, were before Lord Hallifax, from whence I had directions to lay them before your Lordship. The honour, utility, and popularity they will give your Lordship's administration, is worthy, I hope, your attention. I can assure your Lordship, that the gentleman who furnished me with these matters, has spent many years in foreign parts, is master of trade, both foreign and domestick, and knows the different interests and politicks of most of the courts of Europe; and, I may venture to say myself, the foundation of the plans are good.

Your Lordship did me the honour yesterday to tell me you would read my Letters, and I hope you will, at the same time inspect the inclosed papers, that we may be prepared against the powers that are undermining us. I will do myself the honour to wait on your Lordship next Tuesday, according to your order, when I hope you will acquaint me with your pleasure.

My

My Lord, I rely on your justice, friendship, and interest, for my past services, which will lay me under an eternal obligation.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most, &c.

N. B. The papers above alluded to are in the Guide.

LETTER from Mr. MAC ALLESTER to
Mr. ROBINSON, dated July the 20th, 1770.

S I R,

(N^o 3.)

YOUR politeness demands my acknowledgements, and the promise you were pleased to make me yesterday morning, of speaking to my Lord to order me some money, my sincere thanks: whatever favour is done me, in granting me this order by my Lord, through your interest, in remembering his Lordship of the justness of my request, and the merits of my service and late proposals, will be hereafter for ever testified with gratitude: and I flatter myself that those important services I have proposed, will do honour to his administration, from the glorious success which must attend them. They are in general of such a nature, that I doubt not but they will lay the foundation of addresses of thanks to the throne, and the like to his
Lord-

Lordship, with other tokens of grateful acknowledgements from the public. I may, I hope, with assurance further add, they will defeat and disappoint every scheme of his secret enemies (if any he has) who would wish, or secretly endeavour his removal, and that he may laugh in his sleeve at the heads of opposition, by rendering the common enemy submissive, and his Lordship the idol of the people. My friend, and I, are ready to go to work on the materials, as soon as I am settled; and I am satisfied to be stripped of any establishment that is made for me, if I fail in what is proposed. As to my first plan, the gentleman, my friend, knows nothing of it yet, nor shall I mention it to any one, till my Lord and you have seen it, which cannot fail to be approved, or I'll have nothing. Suffer me, Sir, to say positively, that for every thousand pound his Majesty will please to order me, France and Spain will repay an hundred times as much to this nation. I must, for most material reasons, appear with some little éclat, for to compass future ends; and if sent to Holland some time hence, I believe great advantages may result to my Lord; but of this I will lay the whole before you in some of the interviews which I hope to have the honour to have with you, in laying down the particulars, on which the plans, &c. before-mentioned, are founded and supported. I will take leave to wait upon you to morrow morning.

And am,

S I R, &c.

P. S.

P. S. From some things I have heard within these two days, it merits, I think, to have a vigilant eye on Minorca, Gibraltar, and Cape Breton; the dispute between France and the Dey, or Bey of Tunis, is, at this juncture, inconsistent. Something else, under this pretence, may be intended: and if some ships were ordered to be fitted out and sheathed, I believe it a good precaution; this order might be secretly countermanded, if the measure was unnecessary, but they will be always ready, and in use to defend, &c.

LETTER from Mr. MAC ALLESTER to Lord NORTH,
dated August the 14th, 1770.

My Lord, (N^o 4.)

I Have the honour to lay before your Lordship the inclosed extract for your perusal, among which, some interesting particulars will, I flatter myself, be found; which, I hope, at this critical juncture, may merit his Majesty's and your Lordship's attention, as matters of the greatest importance will result therefrom, when examined and explained.

The mind of a first minister is the garden of his sovereign, where, if I may be allowed the allegory, transplanting as well as sowing, renders the fruits, flowers, and vegetable productions delightful and profitable; but without the

the aid of those little rivulets and secret springs, which pass through the ground, the labour and expectation of the most skilful gardener, would often meet with disappointments.

Permit me, my Lord, to say, there are two or three objects that ought to be put in the political loom immediately, as they require time to give the work perfection; and a short treaty, which will be cheerfully embraced, should be very secretly negociated, which will be of the greatest consequence to this nation, and to every scheme that can be projected or executed against the common enemy. The gentleman, whom I have formerly mentioned, is ready to do his part, with respect to the plans, with many useful additions. I have many other things of importance to lay before your Lordship, of great advantage to the state, but if I am still to be so unfortunate as to have my past and present services disregarded and unsatisfied, I will not trouble your Lordship any more, unless to pray you to return me the papers, as the treatment I have met with must exceed belief. I will, however, never be wanting in my good wishes for your Lordship's happiness and success, or in acknowledging that with all respect I have the honour to be,

My Lord, Your Lordship's, &c.

I will wait on Mr. Robinson next Thursday to know your Lordship's pleasure.

N. B. Soon after this letter was sent, Lord Hallifax told Mr. Mac Allester, that it was not permitted him to say, what had past at a certain place with respect to his services; but that he thought it best to compound for the past and
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present, to which the latter readily agreed, but nothing was done further in this respect, the reasons for which will appear in their place.

Sent by Mr. MAC ALLESTER to Lord NORTH, dated
August the 14th, 1770.

(N^o 5.)

PERIODICAL extracts of the several naval engagements between England and her foreign enemies since the Revolution, shewing the necessity and importance of preserving her usual superiority at sea, particularly at this juncture; and how greatly South America merits the ministers attention, as this country is the source of those immense riches, which alone enables the enemies of this nation, not only to rival her in trade, navigation and power, but also to form and execute schemes of descent and invasion, for landing their troops on her coasts, in order to subvert the laws and constitution of this kingdom, or render the nation a province to France, or dependant thereon. This fact is notoriously known to be the view of the perfidious designs of France at all times.

These extracts are taken from the histories of the times, to save his Lordship trouble, and that he may by one coup d'ail, see the veracity of what is above asserted, and the necessity of preparing fleets for the defence of the nation, as well as to annoy her enemies abroad, and, in a word, possess those inexhaustable treasures, which may enrich the crown,

crown, pay the national debt, establish his Lordship's own greatness in administration for future ages, and reduce the enemy to poverty and submission; all which will be effectually done by the plans to be laid before him, and their efficacy as clearly proved and demonstrated to his Lordship, as any proposition in Euclid can be, to his satisfaction.

After King William's accession, the first article relating to the fleets was in 1689, when a complaint was made against the commissioners of the navy, who had furnished corrupt and unwholesome food, which had occasioned a mortality in the fleet. Some of these commissioners lost their places, but suffered no other punishment, tho' the security of the crown, the lives of many subjects, and the happiness of the nation might well be comprehended in such a fatality. This serves as a precaution for every minister to attend to, that his naval projects may not miscarry by such abuse, on the confidence reposed in commissioners, as well as in victualling the ships, especially those for foreign service.

January the 30th, 1690. The French fleet defeated the combined fleet of England and Holland, commanded by the Earl of Torrington, off Beachyhead.

On the 22d of July following the French landed some troops at Torbay, and burnt Tinnmouth, after their success at Beachyhead, and the nation was in a terrible consternation for some time, expecting an invasion.

The 16th of January following. At the congress of the Hague, consisting of the Princes of Germany, the

Imperial, English, Italian, Spanish and Dutch ministers declaration was drawn up; wherein, first they solemnly protested before God, that their intentions were never to make Peace with Lewis the XIVth, till he had restored to each party all he had taken from them since the peace at Munster, &c. &c. and threatening ruin and devastation to those that refused to join them. How this solemn engagement was observed, is since well known: had it been religiously kept, as it ought, the house of Bourbon would not have been so powerful as it is at this day. It is still very reduceable by methods now to be taken, wherein secrecy insures the success.

1692. The English and Dutch fleets, commanded by Admiral Russel, engaging the French fleet under Admiral Tourville, the French were entirely defeated and driven to their coasts; and at La Hogue and other places, no less than 21 of the largest men of war were destroyed, among the rest the Admiral's ship the Rising Sun was set on fire, within sight of the army, that assembled to have made a descent upon England.

1693, Admiral Rooke, with 23 men of war, having June 16. the Turkey fleet under his convoy, was attack'd off Cape St. Vincent, by the whole French fleet, under the command of Admiral Tourville; 12 English and Dutch men of war, and above 80 Merchantmen were taken or destroyed by the French.

June 8. The English fleet with a body of land forces on board, came before Brest, General Talmash who

who commanded the troops landed 500 men, where he found such batteries, intrenchments, and other preparations to receive them, that they thought fit to retire to the ships; but the tide going out, the flat bottom'd boats stuck upon the ouze, and were not able to get off; most of those that landed were killed or wounded, amongst the rest General Talmarsh was mortally wounded, and died at his return to Portsmouth.

1697, The French made themselves masters of Carthage in America; from whence Admiral Pontibrought away with him to France, the value of 12 millions of crowns.

1702, The Duke of Ormond landing with the confederate forces on the continent of Spain, August 15. opposite to Cadiz, took possession of Port St. Mary's, where the soldiers committed intolerable disorders, rifling the houses and churches, and ravishing the nuns; but the Duke despairing of making themselves masters of Cadiz, reembark'd and set sail for England. It was through ignorance, neglect and licentiousness that Cadiz was not taken at this time; but by a plan to be now laid before his Lordship, it will appear that this valuable place may be now taken, the city which contains millions, plundered or ransom'd; the Manilla money paid, and the men of war and galleons at the Carraca taken or burned; and the fortifications destroyed: all which can be done with facility, at small expence, and without much loss of blood, as will be shewn.

Sir

October 12. Sir George Rooke, and the Duke of Ormond returning with the confederate fleet from Cadiz, met with the French fleet and Spanish galleons in the port of Vigo, and whilst the Duke landed his forces and attacked the castle that secured the harbour, Admiral Hobson broke through the boom that obstructed the entrance; and the English took 4 galleons and 5 large men of war; and the Dutch 5 galleons and a large man of war; 4 other galleons and about 14 men of war were destroy'd with abundance of plate and rich effects, and a considerable quantity of plate was taken.

January following the Dutch Rear Admiral Vander Duffen arrived at Spithead, with 1800 land forces, in order to join a squadron of English men of war, and make some attempt on the Spanish West Indies; but that expedition, and all thoughts of prosecuting the war in the West Indies, (where only the English could reap advantage) were laid aside to support a war in Flanders.

1704. The confederate fleet, commanded by Sir George July 23. Rooke, having battered Gibraltar a whole day, and on the 24th the garrison surrendered.

August 13. Sir George Rooke with the said fleet engaged the French fleet commanded by the Count de Thoulouse; the English having spent great part of their shot before Gibraltar, wanted ammunition, &c. or they had gained a compleat victory; however, the French were so batter'd.

batter'd that they declin'd renewing the engagement next day, and never attempted to dispute the dominion of the Seas afterwards with the confederates during the war.

About February following the Dutch withdrew a squadron, part of their quota of ships, just before the battle of Malaga, and employed them in convoying their merchant ships, otherwise that victory had been more compleat.

About March following Admiral Leak surprized the French squadron under the command of Admiral Ponti, before Gibraltar, took 3 French men of war, destroyed several others, and relieved the place a second time, whereupon the French and Spaniards raised the siege.

1706. About May the 13th the English had 10,000 land men on board the fleet this summer, on pretence of making a descent in France, half of them perished on board for want of necessaries, whereas had they been sent to Spain at this time, that kingdom had infallibly submitted to King Charles.

1708, Commodore Wager with a squadron of 4 English men of war engaged 17 Spanish galleons near Carthagena in America; of which the Spanish Admiral reckoned to be worth 30 millions of pieces of eight was blown up, and the Rear Admiral taken, Commodore Wager's share only of this prize amounted to £ 100,000.

Sir

1718. Sir George Byng with a strong squadron, coming up with the Spanish fleet in the streight of Messina, took 11 and burnt 16 of their men of war, and about this time Admiral Hosier blocked up Porto Bello, which forced the Spaniards to unload their treasure; whilst another squadron was to lye on the coasts of old Spain to intercept the galleons returning to Europe, which they were too late to do. Admiral Castagenetta with twenty sail getting into Cadiz by the above delay or neglect.

1731. The British fleet secured Tuscany, &c. to Don Carlos.

1739. War being declared against Spain on account of their depredations, and condemning the English merchantmen under pretence of illicit trade, the Spaniards suffered at least 12 millions sterling loss, in capital prizes and men of war.

1739. Sir John Norris sailed with a grand fleet to Lisbon, to protect the Portuguese, and prevent that kingdom being invaded by the Spaniards.

1740. Admiral Vernon destroyed all the strong forts and castles in the harbour at Carthagená, but the grand design failed by accidents unforeseen, which can now be effected, and the fortress and defence of that valuable place destroyed, and the treasures thereof secured to the crown of England by a new and infallible plan.

Admirals

1747. Admirals Anson and Warren took six French
May 3. men of war, and four East India ships fitted as
men of war.

October 14. Rear Admiral Hawke took six large men
of war.

1755, Admiral Boscawen came up with the French
June 10. squadron going to North America, and took two
French men of war, part of their squadron; after
which, great numbers of their merchantmen were brought
into our ports, by our men of war; Minorca was however
taken afterwards, by the French, which might have been
easily prevented, and the French fleet commanded by Gal-
liffionere destroyed, but through bad conduct, for which
Admiral Byng paid dear.

1758, Admiral Pocock defeated the French fleet
March 29. near Pondicherry, 1800 land forces were landed
near St. Maloes: they were six days on shore,
June 6. during which time they burnt and destroyed a
great many stores, and upwards of 100 ships,
July 25. among which were two men of war, and more
than 30 privateers that were under the cannon
of St. Maloes.

August 7 Lieutenant General Bligh who was convoyed
and 8. by Captain How to Des Mares Bay, landed there
with his troops, and took Cherburg, destroyed

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the basin, and the two piers, at the entrance of the harbour, and brought away 30 fine pieces of brass cannon.

August 18. Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst had taken Louisbourg on the 25th of July, six French ships of the line were taken or destroyed in the harbour, and an immense quantity of ammunition of all kind was found in the arsenal.

August 18 and 19, 1759. The Island of Gorée was taken by Commodore Keppel, and the French garrison made prisoners of war.

Admiral Boscawen attacked the Thoulon squadron commanded by Monsieur De la Clue, without the streights of Gibraltar, and took Le Centaure, Le Temeraire and La Modeste, each of 74 guns; and burnt L'Ocean of 80, and Le Redoutable of 74 guns. The rest of the fleet consisting of seven ships of the line, and three frigates made their escape by favour of the night.

November 20. Sir Edward Hawke defeated the Brest fleet, commanded by Admiral Conflans, the Formidable of 80 guns was taken; the Thesee of 74, and the Superb of 70 guns were sunk; the Soliel Royal of 80, and L'Hérôs of 74 guns, were burnt; seven or eight French men of war of the line, got up the river Villaine by throwing their guns over board; and the rest of the fleet, consisting of five ships of the line, and three frigates, escaped in the night, with the loss only of the
Revolu-

Revolution of 74 guns, and the Effex of 64 guns. This fleet was to convoy about 20,000 men to be landed in the West of Scotland for carrying on a rebellion. His Majesty was graciously pleased to settle a pension of £2000 a year upon Admiral Hawke for his own life, and the lives of his two sons for this great national service.

Immediately after this defeat, the French ministry concerted another scheme, more formidable than any ever intended against this kingdom; and prepared to invade England with a formidable army of 50,000 men; but this scheme was, without the loss of a ship, or the shedding of blood, or any expence, entirely rendered abortive by Mr. Mac Allester's discoveries in 1762, for which he has not as yet received the recompence or honours due to so important a service.

1761. Belle Isle was taken by his Majesty's ships and June 7. forces, commanded by Commodore Keppel.

1763. Admiral Rodney with a squadron and some troops under the command of General Monckton took Martinico; the islands of Grenada and Grenadilles submitted to his Majesty's fleet and arms, as did St. Vincent and other islands soon after. The Hermione, a Spanish register ship, reckoned worth near a million, was taken off Cape St. Vincent by the Active and Favourite, two English frigates.

The English squadrons, under the command of Admirals Pocock and Rodney, with the troops under the command

of Lord Albemarle, failed from the French islands for the Havannah, and having landed the troops took that important place, which might have been preserved to this nation as Gibraltar has been, and I hope ever will be, in spite of the Bourbon compact, and by which those powers would have been reduced to beggary.

LETTER to Lord NORTH, dated September the 20th, 1770, from Mr. MAC ALLESTER.

My Lord,

(N^o 6.)

SUFFER me to congratulate your Lordship, on the general satisfaction which begins to display itself every where, by the measures now taking, as I hear in all places how consonant they are to the wishes of the people, as well as to the necessities and circumstances of the times.

It will not I hope be thought officious in me, to intimate, that it would be very advisable to slide troops into Kent from time to time, so as to have them near the coast, or that they may assemble in a march of two or three days. I have, my Lord, particular reasons for this, which I should be glad to have the honour to explain to you.

There is not any thing I have had the honour to lay before your Lordship for your consideration, which may be worthy your adoption, but what will be confirmed and effected.

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As to the affair of _____, my Lord, there is not any man living but myself knows any thing about it; I never so much as mention the name of the place to the dearest friend I have; it is of too much consequence, as the business cannot be kept too secret.

I should be glad to have the honour, with the plan I formerly mentioned for taking this place, to be examined before his Majesty, your Lordship, and Sir Edward Hawke: I know it will be found infallible, and that the place may be taken in 24 hours, when necessary to be attacked. This done, I will have the honour to lay before your Lordship a plan for taking _____ no less expedient and consequential.

It may be improper for me to trouble your Lordship, with other interesting matters at present; as I can communicate them to Mr. Robinson on his coming to town. My reliance is on your Lordship's generous goodness, for past and present services; I will not exaggerate my hardships, but wait on Mr. Robinson as soon as he comes to know your Lordship's pleasure; having the honour to be with profound respect,

My Lord, &c.

N. B. It may be necessary to observe, that this letter was wrote before the news of Falkland islands being taken by the Spaniards was known; as Mr. Mac Allester about December preceding wrote to a great personage, that he was ready to give a fatal blow to defeat the then designs of the enemy; the particulars of which, and the conduct he pursued on the proposals, will appear in another publication.

L E T T E R

LETTER from SAMUEL CLAY HARVEY, Esq; to
OLIVER MAC ALLESTER, Esq; dated October the
30th, 1770.

S I R,

(N^o 7.)

AS the service of my king and country, at this alarming
crisis, should occupy the ideas of those who can
serve both; I have, whilst in the country, employed a good
part of my time to do what I promised you, which is ready
to be laid before the minister for his perusal and approba-
tion: It's a Grand Constitutional Bill, which at one view
provides for the regular state of the nation, so as to be
always ready for our enemies, that the minister may here-
after have no occasion to devote his time in providing ways
and means for the supplies, as they are term'd, for the sup-
port of the army, navy or militia, and it will greatly reduce
most of the public taxes. This you will be so kind as to
give to Mr. Robinson, for him to deliver to Lord North.

I am, Sir, Yours,

S. C. H.

N. B. This bill, &c. is set forth in the Guide.

First,

First, It will put a stop to all party faction in state affairs, and will settle a lasting coalition.

IIId. It appoints a powerful navy.

IIIId. It provides for 18,000 land forces, as now established.

IVth. It provides for 40,000 marines.

Vth. It settles the American affairs, with honour to England, and reciprocal advantages in trade.

VIth. It settles an additional revenue to the civil list of £ 200,000. per annum.

VIIth. It gives the crown £ 100,000. for secret services, without account.

VIIIth. It brings an additional revenue of five or six millions annually into the treasury, without loading the subject with new taxes.

IXth. It prevents smuggling in general, whereby an additional revenue will come into the treasury of two millions annually.

Xth. It settles a fine nursery of seamen, at little or no expence.

This

This bill hath other popular clauses, which gives lustre and dignity to the crown, as well as popularity to the minister; to which I may assert, that the nation will give it their approbation and applause, with one general or publick voice, so soon as it is regulated, and the contents made known.

I would have you speak to your friend about it, as the time draws near for publick business, and I will wait on you in a few days.

I am, Yours sincerely,

S. C. H.

Extract of Mr. MAC ALLESTER's LETTER to
Lord NORTH, dated January the 3d, 1771.

(N^o 8.)

I Beseech your Lordship to order thirty sail of fifty or sixty gun ships, with three or four of eighty or ninety gun ships to be sheathed ready, with bombs, &c. and 30 or 40,000 stands of arms for foreign service, besides a proper channel squadron, &c. for different stations; to secure the nation from any attempt of invasion, and to fill the exchequer with money.

LETTER

LETTER from Mr. MAC ALLESTER, to Lord NORTH,
dated February the 23d, 1771.

My Lord,

(N^o 9.)

THE cruel treatment I have received from the board where your Lordship presides, in not ordering a servant of the crown under your immediate direction, and for the purpose, authority to pay me the money which he has defrauded me of, is far, I must say, from being consistent with any degree of justice; and of that common justice, which every man living is intitled to, and might without favour expect.

Your Lordship knows in how eminent a degree I have served his Majesty, and that I have not been recompenced for the most important service ever rendered a sovereign. As to any one's saying it was before your Lordship's time, and that you would not meddle in it; this, my Lord, must and will be looked upon by me, as an excuse beneath your wisdom as a minister, and should be remote from your principle as a nobleman, and unworthy the sentiment of an honest man; for the meanest capacity knows the contrary, and every one knows your facility to make me easy and happy, by doing me an act of common justice, against a man whom the people will badge with the name of robber.

E

My

My letters to your Lordship, during the whole summer, for fitting out fleets, my proposals and offers of plans for taking Cadiz, &c. obtaining the Manilla ransom, distressing the enemy in South America, bringing home immense riches, and rendering your Lordship's administration the greatest that England has enjoyed at any former period; with many other great and important propositions, which could not fail of success, would, I imagined, have procured me your favour, with a solid establishment adequate to the importance of those services, and placed me in that situation, wherein I might be of further use to government on future events: for certain I am, few men can do more in what I propose. But alas, my Lord! you have abandoned me, and left me in an inhumane and ungenerous manner. Be not therefore, my Lord, surprized or disoblighd, that I lay before the public a full and particular detail of all these services, letters, plans, propositions and ideas, which would have done for your Lordship all I have mentioned, and render'd the nation great and happy, if adopted and followed.

The public will judge of their utility, and the treatment and return I have met with, and I will venture further to add, that not one man in ten but will say, you might have had Charte Blanche instead of a convention, and Bucarelli in London.

London in the same condition that the late General Lally was, if my propofals had been put in execution.

I have the honour to be, with profound respect,

My Lord, &c. &c.

LETTER from SAMUEL CLAY HARVEY, Esq; to Lord NORTH, delivered with the Pamphlet called the Guide, at his Lordship's House, March the 29th, 1772.

My Lord,

(N^o 10.)

I Have paid you all the attention due to his Majesty's first minister, in what hath been laid before you, and made no doubt to have found your Lordship an able politician, for which reason I opened an extensive field to subdue our common enemy. I cannot help saying that I think the part wanting in your Lordship for completion, was spirit, secrecy and attention; and that you have shewn a total neglect of the propositions, by flinging cold water on the whole, or the objects proposed, by which the nation is greatly injured.

I intend to lay the inclosed before the public, but previously desire your Lordship to peruse it, that if any of the transactions therein related, as passed between Mr. Robinson, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Mac Allester and me, touching this business, are erroneous,

they may be pointed out, being persuaded the prepositions will be adopted and applauded by others.

The great importance to the state of the uses of the bill, and plans so beneficially leading to his Majesty's service, require that you do present this pamphlet to the King before publication, judging it will come with more propriety from you at this juncture, than by another hand: by which means his Majesty will have an early opportunity to observe at one view, what safe and honourable proposals are laid down (according to his own wishes, so often repeated from the throne) for the happiness of his subjects, and his own glory.

My Lord, my regard for you has been great, my request is justly fair, that the King may see these interesting objects, and that you would consult with his Majesty on them for the future welfare of the state, before they are communicated to the public; and that you will be so kind as to communicate your answer to Mr. Robinson, as I will wait on him next Monday morning, to know if any thing can be objected to my conduct.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. C. H.

P. S.

P. S.

There is another salutary proposition, which I offer to your Lordship's consideration for his Majesty's service, which admits of no delay, I think, and can be easily effected ; which is, to give orders to our consuls to send home all our seamen and shipwrights employed in foreign service, at the most easy expence to government, assuring them they will be well received, and shall meet with employment, according to their wishes ; and if any are in foreign jails for small debts, let the consuls discharge them, and take particular account of those who refuse for future observation. This hint, my Lord, you will find beneficial, material and national.

LETTER to Lord NORTH, dated June the 25th, 1771,
from Mr. HARVEY.

My Lord,

(N^o 11.)

WHEN a gentleman, whose fortune renders him independent, and who has no favour to ask from ministers of state, makes proposals to any of them for public utility, common politeness intitles him to that attention and civility, which, I am sorry to say, I have been far from finding in your Lordship, on similar applications.

You

You cannot, my Lord, but know, that the highest office under the crown is merely temporary, that the possession of such is no inheritance, and that the fall of men in power, has been both sudden and frequent. Nor is this in any degree amazing, as it may without hyberbole be said, they move on slippery ground during the whole course of their administration, be it ever so long or successful; and that when such an event arrives, they are instantly brought on a level with other gentlemen, to whom they become responsible for every slight or indignity they have wantonly bestowed, as well as for the particular acts of injustice they have committed on individuals, in their plenitude of power.

I say not this to convey by any means, the least insinuation of the smallest spark of resentment for your ungentle behaviour to me, on the propositions I made not long since to your Lordship for public service, as I am sure I shall never have any difference with you, unless in opinion, on the measures you wrongly pursue, which may perhaps, be owing to bad advice, and the weakness and presumption of ignorant pretenders to promote his Majesty's happiness, and that of his kingdoms; the contrary of which is diametrically opposite to their farfical professions, as is but too apparent in late and present proceedings, as well as from the reigning discontents of the people, and the light in which the generality of his Majesty's subjects behold them, as the tame instruments of the insults the nation has received, and the cause of our enemies designs to surprize and
attack

attack us, with an accumulated force, superior to what England can boast. It is, I must suppose, from the malevolent counsels which are so unaccountably prevalent with you, that you are drawn out to public resentment, and that complaints incessantly increase at your neglect and misconduct. Be not displeased, my Lord, at my relating facts almost in every man's mouth I meet with.

My propositions to your Lordship last year, had they been adopted and followed, would have certainly made you a great minister, and this a happy nation; they were, and are objects worthy the attention of a first minister, who, without predilection, has the real interest of his country at heart, for a proof of which I refer myself to my country: but to these you have paid no regard, nor did you so much as give me an audience on these interesting subjects; my view, therefore, in saying thus much, is, that for the future you may be less partial in keeping your door shut, to those who have matters to propose and explain to you for public advantage; that you will direct your domesticks to speak truth, and that you condescend to give verbal or written answers, if you will not enter upon a conference with a gentleman, who has nothing of greater moment to ask you, than to serve your king and country, as you should do; otherwise the most material objects of the state must languish, in being neither duly weighed or considered; for if none are to be admitted to your presence, as first minister, but dependants, or such as have votes to dispose of, the King's affairs must still decline, and your Lordship be regarded as the parent of anarchy and confusion; without
speaking

speaking of the risk you run, in drawing down upon your own head, that kind of public vengeance and hatred which may be fatal.

On the 29th of March last, I did myself the honour to write to you, after previously sending you several interesting national plans and propositions, together with the pamphlet called the Guide to the Freeholders of Great Britain, and Livery of London, before any other person had seen it; another pamphlet no less interesting, intituled, A letter to the people of Great Britain, I did not then trouble you with; they have both met with the highest approbation by all true lovers of their country, tho' not sold in the shops, and am sorry to hear they should give you uneasiness, and injure a gentleman, by your resentment, in a just demand he has on government, so as to prevent his obtaining his right, for being suspected as the author. My design in sending the Guide to you was, to open your Lordship's eyes, and clear your understanding, in order that you might enter on the premises therein set forth, and effectually serve your country.

In this letter I prayed you to return me an answer, but nothing of that kind has happened, nor have you shewed any regard to the propositions made to you, or the appointments made for me, to wait on you; for as often as I came to your house for that purpose, your porter said you were not at home, tho' I knew at the same time that falshood prevailed where truth should be found: whether this behaviour is consistent in a gentleman, whose very station requires

requires him to receive, hear and admit to him, all such persons as are known by probity and candour to be honest men, and who write or apply to a minister in order to serve his King and the public, I leave to your own determination. I am in truth above every resentment for such ungenerous treatment, being willing to believe the hurry of obtaining an approbation of your convention, and other parliamentary affairs of the same complexion, blotted out of your memory objects more interesting, which is all I can say in extenuation of your neglect; for I can easily shew, that if you had adopted and pursued some of those propositions in time, as you might have done, if not the whole, the common enemy would have been at this hour supplicating, instead of continuing their armaments and threats.

The irksome campaign of parliament is however now over, and a long vacation ensues, which may afford you more leisure to consider of those essential matters you have too long neglected, and to prepare them for execution; or we shall have our foreign enemies at our heels, when they are least suspected. In the interval you may collect and form a new budget for the approaching session, but the public expect, it will be better than the last, in case you continue in office, and wish your Lordship may prove yourself an able financier, a sound politician, a good patriot, and an Englishman at heart; if so, all may yet go well.

If, my Lord, you should find yourself under any embarrassment for a new budget for the next session, I promise to furnish

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you

you with one without fee or reward; a budget that shall be national, interesting and honourable, that must immortalize the name of a patriotic minister, restore peace and harmony, and gain him the affections of his countrymen. The objects are in part contained in the packet for the King. I pray your Lordship not to fail to deliver it into his Majesty's own hands unopened, as soon as possible: as it is of a political nature, and solely intended for his Majesty's honour and safety; as well as for the service of the public. I have signed it with my name and affixed my seal to it, and will be answerable for all the facts therein contained, and for the consequential events with success.

If your Lordship should neglect, or fail to deliver the packet, I will set forth the contents in the public news papers, in order they may reach the royal ear, as also my letter to you the 29th of March, and that of this date, with other facts, which will point out such things, as can do no honour to your administration; but may, I fear, increase the public odium.

Since you became first Lord of the Treasury, you are esteemed I find by the public as a nominal minister only, convince the public of their error if it be one; act with popularity; advise his Majesty to redress the subjects grievances; abandon the repute of corruption, and recover fame; without failing to refresh the memories of the several junto's of each department, with the duty they owe the public.

Please

Please to acquaint Lord Sandwich, that the measures he takes cannot gain your Lordship or himself any real credit or applause; that the nation is dissatisfied with his putting so many ships out of commission, and discharging our seamen: after pressing, forcing, and driving them from their trades or occupations, leaving their families to beg; and now numbers of them to be turn'd adrift to rob or starve; even when those men who escape these evils, or others, must soon be raised again at a second national expence; greater perhaps than the former, according to the present system, for which it may be presumed new sums will be demanded and taxes augmented.

The public think the money already granted more than sufficient for the purpose for which it was destined; that is, for 40,000 seamen voted by parliament: Lord Sandwich may pretend he has dismissed, or is dismissing only raw, and unexperienced landmen; to which I answer he acts badly, for he should have kept those men and trained them for sea service, to supply the want of those abroad, who languish in prisons; or who are under the yoke of foreign service, equal to them to a yoke of slavery.

But before any such plans or schemes as these, for reducing our national strength should have been brought into practice, your Lordship should be clear, that the common cause is in no danger; that Falkland Islands are ours, and properly delivered to us, with the appurtenances; that the Spaniard had abandoned all claims, and that their whole

navy was disarmed, even those at the Havannah ; three or four men of war being always deemed sufficient in time of peace, for convoy of their flotas. If these terms were not acceptable and duly complied with, the true sense of Englishmen is, that further mediation should be by the mouths of their cannon, as their best peace makers ; whose powerful oratory has hitherto commanded obedience and procured us justice.

The nation will never agree to be duped, by the refined stroke of politics, that the Spaniards is to deliver up these islands for the present ; when they have reason to suspect, that by a hocus pocus in politics, they are to be soon after restored to the enemy, under pretence of claims founded on a supposed priority of right ; the subject of which is to be discussed and determined by a Masserano and a Francois, or their successors.

I cannot see, my Lord, how you and some others can answer to your own honor and consciences, or to the public, for what has been already done, and agreed to on this subject ; the false parades of former negotiations, and the enormous expences they have created to the nation, for no other purpose than dishonoring it, are shocking to think of. But, I hope, my good Lord, now that your eyes are opened, you will never more give your consent whether in or out of administration, to such ignominious councils, as will restore these islands to Spain ; conscious that such consent is unworthy any Englishman ; for the most kind concessions you can make, will not avert a Spanish war for any length of time.

To

To urge a yet stronger point, your Lordship with Lord Sandwich, before disarming, should be clear of a much greater enterprize, in order to avoid a sudden and unexpected stroke intended by the common foe. His Lordship's late parade has been, I hope, to cause a total repair of all the King's ships; and to render Milford Haven capable of receiving and containing a large fleet of English men of war in safety; as mentioned in the Guide; and not calculated for a party of pleasure, at the expence of the public, and to shew our weak parts to a French count, who already is well inform'd of them, without the trouble of a journey, if a particular curiosity had not induced him to visit our principal sea ports, and dock yards, to observe them with his own eyes; Gordon did not do more; alas! poor Gordon.

Please to acquaint that noble Lord of the Admiralty who accompanied him, that it is most earnestly desired his Lordship will give a fair and honest answer if possible, to his Sovereign and the public, in respect to the stations of the fleets as mentioned in the Guide; and if his Lordship has yet divined any plan to keep these fleets well manned without any national expence; so essential a service for the welfare of his country should receive no delay; if he cannot perform such service, let him resign his post to him who can, and will when called upon.

I would, my Lord, but barely hint in this letter (already too long) at the northern department; great events can
still

still be affected there, by men who will study and look after a particular business in that office; to explain to your Lordship is to do nothing but to become subject to affront, I have intimated however in the packet to his Majesty that political stroke.

Reserving a few ideas, relative to the southern department and board of trade, for another opportunity; I shall close this letter, by requesting your Lordship to return me the packet, if you do not present it to the King, and that it may be left for me with Mr. Robinson your secretary, to whom I will send my servant on Tuesday next to receive it, and bring it me; or for such answer as his Majesty may graciously vouchsafe to give me himself, or by your Lordship, or as you yourself, may think fit to return me; having the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

S. C. H.

LETTER

LETTER from SAMUEL CLAY HARVEY, Esq; to
the KING, dated June the 25th, 1771.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

(N^o 12.)

THE love I bear to your sacred person and family, with that of my country, prompt me for the happiness of both, to address this letter to your Majesty, which I have inclosed to Lord North, to be delivered into your royal hands, with a small packet, containing two pamphlets, one of which is intitled, "A Letter to the People of England;" the other, "The Guide to the Freeholders of Great Britain, and the Livery of London." They are calculated for your Majesty's glory and happiness, as well as those of your subjects, and with a view to appease the present animosities that are spread throughout your Kingdoms, created by the ill concerted measures of your ministers, which for the future may be prevented, if the propositions therein made are attended to, improved, and carried into execution, for which purpose I humbly submit them to your royal consideration.

Every faithful subject, I humbly apprehend, may be permitted to contribute his mite at least, towards that happy issue.

But

But before I enter upon the subject matter ; I beg, Sire, your gracious pardon if any errors or improprieties should appear in this letter, or in the pamphlets ; being persuaded your royal mind will soon perceive, they proceed from a good intention, and an honest heart devoted to your service. On this presumption, Sire, I hope you will condescend to let me lay before you, a short narrative of the present state of your kingdoms, and the conduct of your ministers. This political task I should not have presumed to undertake, but from the deaf ear your ministers have given to propositions, and shutting their eyes on objects the most interesting, and important for the honor and prosperity of King and people. The dangerous situation of our national affairs, which this critical juncture presents, demand the duty of your minister or ministers to be in the first instance, studiously employed in promoting your glory, your ease and quiet at home ; and in fulfilling the glorious maxim laid down by your illustrious ancestors, as well as by your Majesty. That *salus populi suprema lex est*. But as your ministers having long wandered from that golden rule, I can't avoid charging them with great neglect, and breach of duty in this, and other particulars ; therefore beg your Majesty's attention to the two pamphlets. You will, Sire, observe thereby, that no ministers dare attempt to attach so much power to the crown, even with a body of placemen and pensioners at their backs in a House of Commons, as that which is proposed to be given you by the bill therein mentioned, with the consent of a faithful but free people, and this of their own accord. The reason is plain ; the power comes voluntarily, and in gratitude from the subjects

subjects, of such constitutional bill ; but when exacted from them by bribery, corruption, or force, the opposition becomes great and difficult, which renders the uses of less weight to government ; moreover, your ministers are thereby debarred from offending you, or your people, by false politics, and ministerial impositions. The ministers of your predecessors as well as your own, it is evident, have greatly misused the power of the crown ; encreasing and entailing upon us our national debt, which rests on the pillars of the state, and which they cannot much longer support, therefore must sink with it into ruin ; as it will eventually prove a millstone to England, unless timely lessened, or annually reduced. There is, I think, a species of politicians, who pretend to say, that the debt of the nation is the security of government. It is easy to answer to this nugatory sophistry, that when a bankruptcy comes, which must certainly be the case one day or other, if we go on as we have done ; that government is over when the security is vanished : your Majesty's own wisdom will determine which is the most eligible and rational. If any of your Majesty's ministers had taken one effectual step to appease the discontents that have long prevailed, or to have raised the glory of your reign by keeping your enemies in that subjection which has been necessary, I should have honoured them ; but I must beg leave to observe, that no minister, except Lord Chatham, hath added one scruple weight of honor to the British crown, even for sixty years past. Popularity was his first political object, and from which he derived success ; by adhering to that principle, he saved Great Britain from being at this hour a province to France ; and if he had continued minister, it is more than probable,

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I think,

I think, he would have decreased the national debt, and made our enemies have paid the expences of the late war, as appears pretty clear by the Letter to the People of England, wherein this matter is set forth; this popularity has been ever since despised by most of his successors, unless by the Marquis of Rockingham's administration; which proves the grave of their politics.

Pray, Sire, condescend to turn your royal eyes on the first six heads of the Guide; that on the article of limiting the number of placemen; then on the American representation for uniting your subjects, and forming a grand plan of universal empire in the western world; then on the appointments of your fleets; and the noble proposal of raising four or five millions annually, and maintaining your navy, without loading your subjects, as set forth in the Guide; and deign to think such propositions worthy the royal attention, tho' your ministers have neglected these, and other interesting and important propositions, absolutely necessary for your honor, the security of your Kingdoms, and the benefit of commerce; as I can clearly demonstrate, and indubitably prove to your Majesty, and all honest ministers of state.

Permit me, most gracious sovereign, to ask your ministers of the day, how many millions of the public money have been squandered away by them and their colleagues, under pretence of securing the balance of power in Europe, and endeavouring to preserve a bad peace, which would be more for your Majesty's honour, and the interest of the nation,

nation, to be broke than preserved; and why the dignity, the honour and faith of the crown has been sacrificed by ignominious treaties, upon the fallacious pretext of conserving this phantom of a balance, and a pernicious peace, since we are robbed of the first by the family compact; and the latter is used but as a convenience to the united powers of that compact; to gain time to destroy us if they can.

Your minister last year was offered with certainty, the means to recover this balance of power, from a plan and treaty, most eligible, I might say infallible; and which would not have cost the nation half the expence it hath sustained by the insults of a despicable enemy, now become formidable by the neglect and supineness of those ministers, in imposing on your Majesty, and your people: this plan has continued practicable till within these two months past to my own knowledge, whilst 30 sail of ships of the line, besides frigates, might have been kept cruising in the Mediterranean seas, without national charge. Let your ministers, Sire, look after the northern department, with respect to the above plan and treaty, to answer such an important object.

Your Majesty's ministers, I hope, are not afraid of keeping your fleets equipped and prepared, or of negotiating the national interests as they should do, least they should offend France or Spain; if that hereafter should appear to be the case, as I fear it may, other powers with irony will ask them by and bye, what tribute you are to pay for your Kingdoms. To be sincere, it appears clear to me, and to millions of your Majesty's subjects besides, as well as to

foreigners, that your Majesty's interests, and those of your ministers are grounded on different principles; or on a pernicious influence, which time may discover, when a remedy may be too late; for I say, Sire, if Britannia cannot rule the waves, instead of being that universal monarch your faithful subjects would endeavour to make you; our audacious insolent enemies will say, you must soon become a petty prince; owing to the unaccountable conduct of ministers generally detested by the people; and who dazzle your royal eyes with false representations of the state of your affairs. An honest vigilance and active spirit is now become more necessary than ever, to prevent the fatal blow in embryo, nursing up by your natural enemy, to ruin this nation; your ministers may know it or not know it, very little pains I am convinced are taken by them to know it, as a proof of which, and other neglects, I cannot omit representing, that ever since July 1770, interesting hints on foreign designs, with proposals and plans for the common safety and felicity of your reign, much superior to any they have dreamt of, have laid unnoticed and disregarded by them, as can be evidently proved; I have asked nothing, as the pamphlets and letters mention to lay before them, the lights for these ends.

Some state officers have followed this impolitic maxim, that no man but he who has the command of a borough or corporation, should approach a minister of state; if he is not corruptable, his visits are not admissible, oh wretched policy! it is this, and the like, which renders, Sire, the schemes of your ministers publicly despised, as not one sound idea of good politics with respect to foreign affairs, has been pursued since the last inglorious peace,
and

and what their domestics have been, are with scandal known to all Europe; fomenting divisions amongst your royal subjects in all parts of the world, has been a studied practice amongst them; to raise suspicions, jealousies, and disturbances their ultimate labour; and these the immediate causes that have given general discontent. If your ministers did their duty, your subjects would never fail in theirs, or in a ready and affectionate support of all exigences of state; for you will please, Sire, to be assured of this hypothesis, and to look upon it as a kind of maxim; that whoever may be your ministers, when similar discontents reign, the ministers are to blame, and not the good people of England; who, tho' they love and honour their King, will support their rights and liberties at the expence of their lives and fortunes, for the sake of themselves and posterity: it is, and ever will be, as it always was, the genius of the nation. The minister therefore that ingratiates himself by imposing on his master, that the constitutional rights of the subjects can be evaded or reversed by arbitrary proceedings, may as vainly pretend to assure him, that the Alps may be removed and placed on Shooter's Hill.

No man in the four quarters of the globe, except a ministerial junto, will give credit to administration, for the following articles for these last ten years, viz.

That the national debt is decreased; no taxes to pay since the peace; your Majesty's dominions in perfect security; and well guarded in all parts of the world; a sum sufficient for the publick service (as there should be after a long, but scan-

scandalous peace) in your treasury by savings; your navy sound, and fit to give laws to our jealous rivals on the stormy element; a compleat quantity of seasoned oak timber, with all other materials in your dock yards, fit for naval use; your foreign enemies in no condition to disturb the public tranquillity, and all their navy (instead of your Majesty's to be left to rot, whilst your Majesty's subjects in all parts of the world, enjoy the golden age of happiness and content.

Sire, I say this is not credited abroad nor at home, except by themselves, in their idle and imposing schemes and imaginations to deceive their sovereign. Animated for your real happiness and glory, I would in as few words as possible, expose the mask'd battery, in laying before you in epitome, another melancholy cause of most of the present grievances, so long complained of by your people, and the false measures too long pursued by your ministers in that respect.

This fatality proceeds from the number of boroughs who send representatives to parliament, the proportion of which, as voters, being not one man to a thousand. By this, Sire, you are debarred from knowing the true sense of your people, owing to the corruption practised on them by your ministers and their dependants, to screen themselves from every enquiry touching their misconduct, by having a majority in parliament. This is the present system of their politics, which engrosses all their wisdom and attention, whilst your more interesting affairs abroad and at home are neglected; to which I might subjoin, that such members
who

who are thus at their devotion, can, by the like rule, be more easily corrupted by your foreign enemies, as they can outbid your ministers at any time, so as to form party and division in your kingdoms, or foment our discontents: your ministers to secure themselves in office, and purchase approbation for all the transactions of their administration, are obliged to act this dishonourable part; otherwise such members might vote against them, whether right or wrong, which sufficiently, I apprehend, defines the rotten part of the constitution.

It is from this practice, and these corrupt principles, that your ministers take loose or confined measures, constitutional or not, lawful or not; and enter upon and conclude negotiations disgraceful to your crown. All is, however, to be palmed upon your Majesty, for real and good services, by the hired applause of such men as give their suffrage to ignorance and ill-conduct, for their private emolument; a practice become notorious, tho' base and infamous.

To illustrate, Sire, this system clearly, I will presume for a while, to place myself as your minister, and open the farce with a new parliament. The first step I shall take, is to settle my friends in posts and places, by this I am sure to obtain a majority in that assembly, let their abilities and their principles be as they may; the more servile, mean and indigent, the more for my purpose, as they can, with more ease, be wrought upon and kept to order.

The next step is, to drain your civil list, and bring it in
arrear,

arrear, then the public money must go for such, or for secret service, without account; then pensions and douceurs must be given to all my creatures; I have now a fixed majority; I become my sovereign's master instead of his servant; I boldly undertake all matters domestic or foreign; let affairs be good or bad, all my junto represent every thing to be in a flourishing condition. Foreign powers knowing the weakness of my plans, and the tottering ground I stand upon, foment divisions, and make claims, &c. They know I dare not resent any insult; I palliate, bribe, and make matters easy. I never consult your honour, your safety or œconomy, with regard to the public money, which I destine and give away for the purchase of votes; I will not admit any person to disturb your royal ear about my conduct; addresses, petitions, remonstrances, groans, hisses, faction, laws and charters, I regard not. My junto confirm that the people are licentious and insolent; I mind not rebellion; by that I shall gain some of their estates, and propose the military to distribute justice. We all assure you, that your Majesty's tranquility is in no danger, as the military is at your command; altho' we are convinced there is no dependance on the soldiery in this case, for, on the contrary, the soldiery will be beloved by taken me your pretended minister, and all my junto, to give us the military discipline of spies, in hanging us up for traytors before your palace, in terrorem.

Please now, Sire, to consider what an hydra of corruption I have raised against you, imagining it will last my time; but, Sire, the main spring is broke, for taxes will no longer be raised; and without being endowed with the
gift

gift of prophecy, I can venture to foretell, that in less than three years, it will produce among others the following bad consequences and insupportable calamities to this nation, viz.

That we are to be no more a maritime power ; that we shall have no more East India trade ; that America will become independant, and be back'd by some foreign power ; whilst Great Britain and Ireland, in all probability, are in open rebellion.

From these consequences, I will not be any longer your minister, but with humble submission, and sorrow for my past conduct, in neglect of my duty, desire a pension and retire.

Let me now, Sire, endeavour to explain how you shall prevent me, or any set of men, becoming traytors to their king or country, in a future administration.

My proposal you will find (for the execution lies within your own royal breast) is without innovation of the constitution ; therefore on legal principles, your resolution on this subject, will effect the business ; by attending to three great important points. First, your own happiness and the security of your throne, to be insured by an independant parliament, which must give happiness to your subjects, by supporting their rights and privileges. Secondly, the weight of your independant parliament will prove a flaming sword to all your enemies. Thirdly, placemen and pensioners will be in fact servants, and not your dictators.

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To promote, Sire, this glorious system, a dissolution of the present parliament is absolutely necessary, in order to acquiesce with the general voice and sense of nine tenths of your loyal subjects; as by such dissolution, all future party faction, and division will be totally extinguish'd, and the secret designs of your common enemies entirely frustrated.

Should there be any ruling prince of a limited monarchy under the circumstances of animosities or jealousies, raised between him and his people, whereby they complain of a violation on their constitutional rights, and the useless and unnecessary burden of placemen and pensioners, crammed into their parliaments by ministerial influence to oppress them, and that such prince should convene the assembly to satisfy the wishes of his people, and to say to them.—“ I dissolve this parliament, I will not admit of any placemen or pensioners, either civil or military, to be chosen as representatives of my free people, in this next parliament. If any presume to offer and shall be chosen, I will dismiss him or them from all posts under my government, during that parliament; I desire none but what my people shall judge expedient for the state business, and this only by office during my royal pleasure; I do desire triennial parliaments, to know oftner the sense of my people, and that as soon as you have compleated your choice, I shall assemble my parliament, to lay before them the state of the nation; as likewise an extensive grand constitutional bill, for them to make the necessary improvements and amendments thereto; so that they may secure to my subjects their rights and liberties, redress their grievances, bar against all future corruption;

ruption, so prejudicial to my glory and the public happiness; and especially to provide so, as to make my forces by sea and land at all times respectable. I will, on a certain day of every month or quarter, receive plans for easing my people of their taxes, and promoting commerce: I will appoint men of abilities, equal to the important trust committed to their charge, for each department, without distinction of parties, &c."

A prince acquainting his people in such manner, with such paternal resolutions for their ease and relief, secures to himself their lives and fortunes, when his honour and glory, or the exigences of the state require them. From the known abilities, Sire, and virtues you possess, a speech delivered from such ideas will effectually compleat your glory, and the happiness of all your subjects. They know you to be a prince endowed with wisdom, and other great qualities, which God hath bestowed upon you, in order that your own, and their prosperity should be by you improved and compleated thereby, as a blessing to both. If you neglect the means, the gift I fear may prove a curse. No monarch can have a more wise and upright council. No enemy can attempt to bribe it. Then the heart, the purse of every subject is yours. Then every man your soldier, not as a mercenary or slave, but by love and interest. The balance of power will be once more restored to your royal hand, as certain as the compass points to the north pole, and the national debt will dwindle to nothing. No taxes on your subjects that will be grievous; universal trade, with the empire of the seas without controul, of course takes place; whilst plenty, peace and wealth, are in every

man's possession. These, Sire, are the fruits of independant parliaments. What can corrupt parliaments give unless corruption, the last stages of all empires, which must centre in the ruin of your own family.

Sire, I must proceed in beseeching your Majesty to mind not men, but measures; the present system, let whoever will be your ministers I say, is contrary to nature to end well. France or Spain, or any other power, on the principles abovementioned, can alienate the hearts of your subjects, and when the touch stone attracts to public ruin, the prince becomes a cypher.

Weigh, Sire, in your royal mind, what is best to be done, and please to reflect, that it cannot be good policy, or your Majesty's interest, to have your subjects loaded with oppressive taxes, when there is no necessity, unless to give ministers the means to support the above state of corruption. Britons will never submit much longer to this rod of oppression. Your Majesty's royal word and promise, I would say oath, requires your attention to these matters; for by your late speech from the throne, your Majesty is pleased to say to your people :

“ Employ your best endeavours in your several stations
“ and counties, to render the national happiness compleat,
“ by discouraging and suppressing all groundless suppositions,
“ and domestic disturbances, &c.”

A work so commendable and necessary, can be easily effected by your Majesty alone, in dissolving the present parliament,

liament, and establishing independency. The desire of the whole nation, except of pensioners and placemen, coincides with your Majesty's pleasure in that respect.

Your Majesty continues to declare in the said speech, " I have no other object, and I can have no other interest, than to reign in the hearts of a free and happy people, &c. and that, by that standard, I would wish my people to try all public principles and professions, &c."

Accomplish, Sire, if you please, what is here intimated, from your own words, for your own and the nation's happiness, and you will effectually give to your wishes, and the prayers of your subjects, that happiness so much desired by both, establishing your reign in the hearts of the people; for the true state of the case is, that this work cannot be peaceably compleated by any other hand but your Majesty's, in dissolving a parliament, generally obnoxious to your subjects: You may, Sire, be assured upon this, that the gratitude and love of your British subjects, will excell those of any other nation, and will be more than adequate to the greatest concessions you will please to make them.

Therefore, I say, Sire, the man ever so highly distinguished by titles, honours or place, that dares advise you against an independant parliament, is a traytor to you, and a betrayer of yours and his country's interest, ready to contribute to the ruin of both; by continuing to sow and increase the seeds of division between king and people, in hopes to extirpate your family from these kingdoms, and
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to acquire greater riches and estates by a general confusion.

I humbly beg, Sire, your pardon for trespassing so long on your patience, all I shall add is, that I devote my life and fortune to your service, and that I pledge myself to your Majesty, that my plans and propositions are eligible, and will effectually answer the utility and design proposed for your Majesty's glory, and your subjects happiness; and that whenever your Majesty thinks fit to do me the honour to call for them, I will be ready and proud to obey the royal command. Humbly begging leave with unfeigned devotion to subscribe myself.

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most dutiful,

Faithful and devoted,

Subject and Servant,

SAMUEL CLAY HARVEY.

Returned the 10th of July, 1771, by Mr. Robinson and Brummell.

LETTER

LETTER from Mr. HARVEY, to Mr. ROBINSON,
dated July the 2d, 1771.

S I R,

(N^o 13.)

I Wrote a letter to Lord North last Tuesday, touching some interesting affairs for his Majesty's service; this letter I sent to his Lordship by my servant, together with a pamphlet addressed to the King; and by that letter to his Lordship requested him to deliver the packet to his Majesty unopened, as it contained matters for his Majesty's private consideration.

This letter and packet were duly delivered to his Lordship that day, and I cannot suppose but that his Lordship delivered the packet to his Majesty, according to the request I made for the above purpose.

In my said letters to his Lordship, I desired he would please to communicate through your hands, such answer as his majesty would vouchsafe to give me, with respect to the matter contained in the packet, or such answer as his Lordship should think fit to return me; and mentioned that I would send my servant to you this day, in order to bring it to me.

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It is in consequence of this request, that I send the bearer, praying you to transmit to me, by him, the answer which I am to receive; and that you will send it under a cover, sealed, being with all esteem,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

SAMUEL CLAY HARVEY.

LETTER from Mr. HARVEY, to Lord NORTH,
dated July the 4th, 1771.

My Lord,

(N^o 14.)

Believing I should have received by Mr. Robinson, an answer to the letter I had the honour to write you the 25th of last month, according to the request I made therein for that purpose; I find by a message which I received this day from that gentleman, that your Lordship has not as yet said any thing to him on that subject. Willing, as I am, to attribute this neglect to the multiplicity of your other engagements in public affairs, you will permit me to tell your Lordship, that you have not more interesting objects before you, than those I have presented to you for the honour and glory of the crown, the happiness and prosperity

prosperity of the nation, and which cannot fail of rendering your Lordship great, and popular, so as to recover and secure to yourself a general applause, and the affections of the people, if the propositions are properly carried into execution, or such of them as may be first judged most expedient.

If, however, your Lordship declines giving me an answer, I must beg leave to insist on your returning me the packet, that I may trouble you no further, on an important business, which I flatter myself merits an extraordinary, and in truth an immediate attention. I will send to your Lordship's house to-morrow, to know your pleasure with regard to the matter in question, having the honour to be with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble Servant,

S. C. H.

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LETTER

Copy of a LETTER from SAMUEL CLAY HARVEY,
Esq; to the Right Honourable Lord NORTH, First
Lord of the Treasury, dated London, September the
20th, 1771.

My Lord,

(N^o 15.)

ON the 25th of June last, I sent you a packet addressed
to his Majesty, and carefully sealed to prevent its
being opened till delivered as addressed. This packet,
your Lordship I find knows, contained a respectful and
dutiful letter from me to my sovereign of the above date,
as also two pamphlets, just then published, the one intitled,
“ A Letter to the people of Great Britain,” the other,
“ A Guide for the Freeholders of Great Britain, and the
“ Livery of London.”

Papers of such importance I presume your Lordship
cannot forget, as they were calculated for the honour and
interest of the crown, as well as of the greatest utility to
the public; tho' you paid not that attention to my former
propositions they merited, when previously laid before you
for national security and advantage.

Convinced in my own mind of your Lordship's having
neglected many essential measures, with respect to the
interests of the Kingdom in general, and the rights and
privileges of my fellow subjects in particular; and being
thoroughly

thoroughly persuaded, that the letter and pamphlets above mentioned, might at this critical conjuncture, merit his Majesty's private consideration and attention; by my letter of the above date, which I addressed and sent to your Lordship with the packet on the same day, I requested you to deliver the said packet into his Majesty's own hand unopened; not doubting but that the propositions and other matters therein specified and humbly offered as above, or some of them, together with the lights therein thrown on our public but at present melancholy affairs, and the expedients thereby proposed for defeating the secret designs of our foreign enemies, relieving our national distress, and establishing domestic tranquility, would on perusal meet the royal approbation; and that I might from thence, receive a consistent answer by your Lordship's hands, or by such person as his Majesty should please to confide it to, for I asked not either place or pension; my principal views, being then and still fixed on the happiness and prosperity of my King and country.

But, alas, my Lord, how great was my surprize on my coming to town, when after importuning you by letters and messages for above ten days, to know if the packet was delivered to his Majesty, as I requested, and to be informed of the answer I was to receive, I found the above letter to his Majesty and the pamphlets brought back by my servant, open and exposed without any cover on them, and without any answer or message whatever; such was the state and condition in which my servant received them from your two secretaries, Mr. Robinson and Brummell.

A procedure of this kind give me leave to say so unbecoming from one gentleman to another, much less from a minister of state to a gentleman proposing to serve his sovereign and the public; should, I think, have met with a more genteel and polite treatment from a minister; rather than such a one, as can only serve to exasperate resentment by an egregious affront or abuse. However disagreeable the subject matter contained in those papers might appear to him, on imagining they arraigned his conduct in the management of public affairs; especially, if they were not destitute of those lenitives that by a proper application would render an upright and popular administration great, and the nation happy; if the propositions were adopted; such a treatment I must, therefore, think unbecoming your Lordship, and doubt not but that on reflection, you will agree with me as others do; that it only can be warranted by arbitrary insolence of Office, which protects men with impunity in the commission of repeated offences.

Elevated and intoxicated with the rapine and plunder which is sucked from the vitals of the people, by oppression and injustice; men forget that they are of the same cast with those they lately quitted; which is the more amazing, as most of the present race in office are like mushrooms sprung up in a night, from favourable showers; 'till time and a provoked resentment collects that just vengeance, which the powerful hand of the injured may hurl among their oppressors, to make their fall great and pitiless,
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in bringing them to their original level with that of other men.

I would, therefore, observe to your Lordship, that whatever difference there may at present be between us, since you have been led into power; that I am no ways inferior to you, in point of antiquity of family, if the allegation could be of use; and virtually, I hope, much superior with regard to my independancy, and love of my country, as I would not injure it for all the money the treasury contains: and with respect to my fortune, lay but aside the emoluments of your places and pensions, or the wealth acquired at the expence of the nation; lay these aside I say, and I flatter myself I shall be found the better man; ready and able to serve my King, my country, and my friend, without place or pension.

Every rational man who is free from predilection, will conclude as I do, that you opened the packet abovementioned, and read the contents. That finding them pregnant with veracity and facts, which might in their consequences affect you; and in all probability occasion not only a change of measures, but of men also; you was provoked to do what will be called an impertinence, I believe, if nothing worse; to secret those papers from the royal eye, with intent, I presume, to silence my representations to his Majesty; or prevent and deter me from using my endeavours for the public good; but in this I assure your Lordship, you will find yourself mistaken. As an Englishman, my Lord, by your birth, I tried in vain by propositions to make you one at heart, for our country service; and am bold enough to say,

say, that if you had attended to my labours, and pursued the national plans laid before you; with ease you might have rendered the most important service to your sovereign; retrieved your lost character with the people as a minister, and acquired popularity; but you turned your back to these advantages; opened the packet, and concealed the contents, at this hour you are your own judge, if such power is annexed to the ministerial departments.

I promised your Lordship knows, and still promise, to be answerable for the contents of the packet; for I am not ashamed of them, and am sorry to find you are; I would endeavour to excuse your curiosity, if I could for breaking the seals; but the public I fear will not only condemn you for the presumption of opening the packet, but for not doing your duty with regard to the salutary propositions it contained; except you can give a better account to them for such conduct, and your own neglect, than I can suggest for you on such occasion, by saying your budget for the approaching meeting might be furnished or enlarged thereby.

In such case however, you should have been candid enough to have acquainted me with that, or any other reasonable excuse, which would have saved us both this trouble and extenuated resentments.

It is for this glaring affront and neglect, as well as for other material reasons I am obliged to ask a few questions, viz. whether you found any treason against his Majesty or his interests in the packet; or any plan to deliver

deliver up his dominions or any part of them, to the common enemy? whether your dislike to the packet, proceeded from want of applauding your administration; or if any offence lay in placing myself in the light I did; or as a temporary minister; as my virtues, integrity in office, and fidelity therein described, might perhaps strike a comparative with your Lordship's character in that station? whether my offence lay in setting forth to my sovereign, an expedient by which he might detect a bad minister; or for painting out, and recommending such measures as would restore the love and affections of the people to their monarch, which corrupt and tyrannick ministers have alienated; or for marking out a plan for his obtaining universal monarchy if he thought fit, in defiance of all the secret projects of his enemies, or any opposition they could make? If these are the reasons for the ill treatment you have given me (and I can divine no other) the public, I believe, will condemn you and not me; for it is to the public I shall refer the subject.

Your Lordship wants no evidence to convince you I had no sinister expectations in my endeavours; for I never frequented or even appeared at any of your levees, or swarmed with such as did or do; and who like flies about a sugar cake, after sucking up the sweets they meet with, leave marks of their filth behind them: it is true I might have been often introduced to those levees by persons of weight in your eyes; but the fawning ceremony of procuring interest or favour, by cringing and hypocrisy I always despised; proud in believing that if merit in serving the
cause

cause of my country, did not open me the door to a minister, my independancy would ever console me, and prove my securest retreat; as I shall ever look upon the smiles or frowns of such a character with equal indifference.

Rouse then, my Lord, in time, meditate and let nature form some kind reflection on your heart; think on the annals of your royal master, and of the clouds of distresses, spread over his Kingdoms; think of your numerous offspring, and let them not read in history when you are no more, that their father supported corruption, and screened himself under the protection of placemen, whom he gratified with the public money to overturn the constitution, and reduce his country to slavery.

Your Lordship must now give me leave to enter a little into what your pretended friends call your consummate abilities in administration, jointly with your colleagues, and the general opinion thereon. According to the best reports, you have been a long time connected with those obnoxious men, who sold their honour, and their country, and who with prostitution devoted their utmost efforts in politics to its ruin, in concluding the late infamous peace with France in 1763; this peace your Lordship well knows, and if you pretend you do not, will be vouched by them you don't perhaps suspect; was dictated by your half starved vanquished enemies; as if they had been our masters and conquerors.

You:

You have been, my Lord, ever since creeping from one department to another, under the sunshine of partial favour bearing your part, and abetting in the numerous oppressions and blunders of a junto, 'till you were at length found by your obsequious submission to bad measures, that you merited by such conduct the premiership, as a person of turn and capacity, which the secret enemies of this nation approved, and as entirely qualified for pursuing and prosecuting with vigour or dexterity the ground work of that plan, they had so studiously laid, for involving this nation in misery and confusion ; whilst money can be lavished for our destruction, hirelings of every denomination will without difficulty be duly found, to give their voice of approbation to the most atrocious acts of our destroyers.

The eunuch who gives his voice to charm our ears, but picks our pockets, must nevertheless be generously paid for the favour ; and the syren who seeks to destroy the man who listens to the betraying melody of the animals voice, finds a recompense in the gratification of a voracious appetite, by preying on him for a repast ; but our approvers and approbation gentry, who sell their voices to betray the interests of their country, are worse than either ; as it is not upon us alone they bring those evils which sink us into ruin, but what is worse, upon our children and their posterity ; for honour and merit seems to have had no share in ministerial measures, for upwards of nine or ten years past. Public ideas, permit me to represent to your Lordship respecting your premiership are worse than can be described by the ablest pen : the people cease not,

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loudly

loudly to express your having supported the iniquity of the Middlesex election, and being equally guilty with your predecessors.

The majority of the people unite and agree in saying, that you have continued the grievances and distresses of the Americans, and neglected to settle the dignity of the crown, and rights of the people in those parts.

That you have introduced new modes of expending the public money, and employed the sinking fund in the fields of corruption ; instead of applying it, according to the fundamental design, of reducing in time of peace the national debt, and easing the people from taxes.

This impolitic conduct, destructive to public faith, raises a suspicion with them, that a sponge is preparing.

The people imagine that Ireland and America are grown ripe for rebellion, and that England is in the same latitude, by the tyranny and ill conduct of her ministers.

Mere speculation, I confess, often fills us with troubles and fears, but it never fails of a total eclipse by facts and real appearances ; when salutary plans and proposals for the glory of the sovereign, and the happiness of his subjects, are despised by a minister, and an infamous convention, worthy of general contempt, is patched and palmed on the nation to dishonour it, what must our situation be ; if your Lordship imagined that such a convention as the last could continue you longer in your high station, by being able to

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conceal the real motives and terms on which it was concluded, you will, in the end, find yourself deceived. The people say the records of the land are one day altered, and on another day abolished; Magistrates imprisoned, because they will not submit to perjury, and by whose influence, your Lordship may easily guess. The commercial interest of the greatest trading kingdom in the world, is arrived at the last stage; our fleets have been rotting, whilst those of our enemies were, and are repairing, building, and fitting out new ones without controul, or daring to ask why they did, or continue to do so: thanks to the vigilance and spirited conduct of administration.

Smuggling wool and sheep to France, to the ruin of our staple trade, is encouraged or connived at, to the destruction of our manufactories in the woollen branches, and the great emolument of our enemies; excellent politicks, and worthy the present directors of our wretched affairs.

That we must be undone by such measures, is the common idea of the people, and the ill consequences arising from treachery and mismanagement, the only fruits they are likely to gather from administration: let your Lordship and your junto quit when it may be, they say you have reduced the nation to the condition mentioned of the virgins in the parable, who wanted oil in their lamps, when their master came to examine into their conduct: that the principal object which has had any weight with you, has been the Book of Numbers; but that even in this, you have wandered from, and perverted the original design. For Moses and Joshua instituted that book, for the good of the

people, and not to destroy them. I mention these things as a friend, and not as a flatterer, in order to touch your mind with the miseries of my country : and must further continue to tell you, that the public has no better opinion of Lord Sandwich, than of the rest of the junto ; and would be glad to find that he ever rendered the least service to the state, or honour to his king or country, in any of the various departments where he officiated.

The junto of the northern department, to their honour be it said, most certainly let slip, last year, the balance of power from their hands.

The junto of the southern last year and this year, have equalled them in knowledge, by neglecting as good an opportunity as could offer, to give our enemies a *Quid pro Quo*, by way of retaliation for past transactions ; but nothing done.

Your junto for the colonies, or that noble enlightened board of trade and plantations, might have put matters on such a solid footing between this oppressed and discontented people, and their mother country, for mutual interest, power and wealth, as would have made both happy ; maintaining, at the same time, the honour and dignity of the crown in full splendor, and not as they are now beheld, in a faded and declining lustre ; this, I affirm, might have been, without difficulty or cruelty accomplished, if this junto had been endowed with a knowledge adequate to the business they are employed in : a wise minister, and a sincere friend to his country, would not have slept, let me say, on such an important object ; but, I fear the political strokes for

for perfecting so desirable a work, are too refined to be understood by those, who are only employed to receive their emoluments : and therefore nothing done.

Surely this nation must be very happy, in the choice of such promoters of their trade, and guardians of their rights, who have now the care and management of both ; but how can this be altered, since every ignorant sycophant in office must stoop his neck, and devote his tender little conscience, if any he has, to the arbitrary will of a despotic administration : these tools of power, to apologize for their ignorance and neglect, will, with an air of the greatest consequence, tell you that what with the drudgery and intricacy of parliament business, and their duty in office, they have an insupportable weight of national business to discharge, tho' the best part of their time is consumed in dissipation : for as to public affairs, you know their inabilities by experience, and that their only merit is to say, aye or no, as they are directed ; what a pity it is, that the public should neglect to give a better attention to their labours than they do, and that they do not encrease their stipends to add to the scale of debt, which weighs so lightly on the nation.

Can your Lordship believe that Britons will be much longer duped by such scenes of imposition, oppression, pusillanimity and bad conduct ; hatched and bred up under the wings of corruption, by which the constitution is almost annihilated, and the people racked to deprive them of their privileges and freedom. Have some compassion, my Lord, before you retire, and take into your consideration a salutary

tary step ; that is, to give the constitution a cordial, after it has suffered so many severe emeticks ; by passing a bill the next session of parliament, that every freeholder for each respective county, shall have right to vote at any borough or corporation town, within the county for its representative ; and that all qualified voters for boroughs or corporations, within that county, should have a right to vote for knights of the shire, for such respective county.

All persons in the excise or customs, or having any place or pension under government to be excepted ; also all such persons to be excluded, and not allowed to vote, or give suffrage at any election for any representative, whilst they hold, enjoy or possess the said place or pension.

Might not this new law counter balance the innovation of corruption, crept in upon the constitution, and prove an expedient to destroy the rotten part, and produce an equal and just representation ; so as to remove the grievances complained of, relative to the freedom of election.

And then apply, *secundum artem*, by way of constitutional specifics, which is set forth in the Guide, viz.

Ist. To take into pay the twenty-five rough ambassadors that never blunder.

IId. Keep our navy, or the major part, without national expence.

IIId.

III^d. Prevent smuggling, whereby our manufactories may gain or profit sixteen millions annually, by labour, instead of our enemies.

IVth. Prevent fraudulent bankruptcies, a discredit to a trading nation.

Vth. Bring all persons to account, for the expenditure of the public money, for these last ten years or upwards, and to replace the deficiency, if any appeared.

VI. To take off the duty of soap, candles and leather, for the advancement of commerce, and the drawback on leather, to prevent the laborious subject from wearing wooden shoes.

VIIth. To advise his Majesty to take into his royal consideration the salutary proposals in the packet, to render him the greatest monarch in Europe.

VIII. Examine your own ideas, and consult your junta in full council; if you and them cannot put a stop to monopolies, but especially in the articles of provision, to relieve the industrious poor.

Do not be astonished, I will pawn myself to the public, that all this, and much more can be done.

These trifling proposals, my Lord, our country will acknowledge to be a wholesome cordial and balsamic specifics; which, if you embrace and improve, will restore general tranquility. I say when you do, I will, perhaps, be introduced

roduced to your levee, and not before, but on the contrary, I desire to remain,

My Lord,

Your not admiffible, tho'

Your very humble Servant,

S. C. H.

LETTER from Mr. HARVEY, to Lord NORTH, dated
from Monmouth, October the 31st, 1771.

My Lord,

(N° 16.)

IT is currently fet forth in the public papers (which I hope will be authenticated by facts) that your Lordship intends to adopt ideas, which I had the honour to have laid before you; for relieving the laborious part of the nation, and promoting commerce; by taking off the duties on soap, candles and leather; I am glad my ideas are useful to your Lordship, and to the public; I wish infallible success to so laudable an undertaking.

My Lord, from the above I am induced to recommend a material point, no less than the balance of power of Europe for your sovereign, the source of power and wealth.

wealth. How happy, my Lord, are you to have so great an event occur in the time of your administration, when so many millions have been squandered away by former administrations to no effect. You have let this great event lay dormant some time; what a gift had it been to your sovereign, on the fourth of June last, if my letters and proposals had been taken notice of.

Delays are dangerous! I perceive the ministerial touchstone to endeavour to avoid a war; but my grand stroke of politics, (if well negociated) will secure a lasting peace, without leaving things in a state of uncertainty.

I would never presume to offer to your Lordship, or any other minister, any political matter, but what I am clear would meet with the assent of vox populi. Therefore, my Lord, when plans and schemes are proposed on honourable terms, they should not be disregarded by a minister, as our country suffers in the interval.

I have acquainted your Lordship that I am none of those sort of men, that cringe for favours, or say aye, or no, without reason; I boldly affirm that merit shall be the means: you may make yourself a great minister, if you please, at this period. If delayed till the parliament meets, I have no doubt to find men that will serve their king and country with pleasure. I have embraced no party as yet, &c.

The bearer of this is my friend Mr. Mac Allester, whom I recommend to your Lordship for a private, close, and se-

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cret conference, on what I have mentioned. You know how infamously he has been treated by men in power, before your Lordship was appointed minister. I am sensible it is in your Lordship's power to do him justice and give redress.

You may depend he will not be ungrateful; I hope, for Great Britain's welfare, you will give your considerations, to the many important objects proposed to you by me; I have acted generously all along with your Lordship; I look for measures, not men.

I am, with all due respect,

Your Lordship's

Very humble Servant,

SAMUEL CLAY HARVEY.

Copy

Copy of a LETTER from Mr. HARVEY, to
the Right Honourable Lord NORTH, First Lord
of the Treasury, dated January the 1st, 1772.

My Lord,

(N^o 17.)

GREAT Britain, in the present critical and dangerous crisis, has long called, and still cries aloud for sound English politicians to counterpoize bad ministers of state. I flattered myself, that the various plans, propositions and letters, which your Lordship has received from me, for about eighteen months past, for publick service; would have induced you to be attentive and diligent in the prosecution of them, for the honour and happiness of your royal master, no less than for the prosperity of his people, whose immediate servant you are, in every sense of the word. The outlines were sufficient to have made you a great minister of state, and this a happy nation; but nothing, I find, can detach you from measures injurious to your country, or attract you to serve unhappy Britannia.

This letter, with those relative to the plans, proposals, and other transactions, touching these affairs, are intended to be laid before parliament, as they were originally most generously designed for your government, in procuring national glory and advantages. Should your country judge it

expedient on such important matters, to call on you to account for your enormous neglect, and misconduct in these particulars, and to make your defence: I shall not be at a loss to produce the originals, with the clearest evidence of the utility of what I have laid before you.

I M P R I M I S.

A letter from Mr. Mac Allester to the late Lord Halifax, (at my request) whom I judged to be a good statesman, dated the 3d of July 1770; inclosing a place bill, with plans and proposals for his Lordship's consideration and amendment.

REMARK. His Lordship returned this bill and plans the 11th of July 1770, and at the same time desired and recommended it to Mr. Mac Allester, to wait on your Lordship with them, which he did, and delivered you a letter reciting the particulars; but no answer was given, no audience granted, nor attention paid to those interesting subjects, which have not been thought worthy of consideration, from that time to this, and whose utility are now submitted to the wisdom of parliament.

IIId. A letter from the said gentleman, (at my request) dated the 20th of July 1770, to Mr. Robinson, to prepare a fleet as soon as possible for foreign service, and a great event, acquainting him of the bad state of our navy; on which occasion Mr. Mac Allester had a long conference with Mr. Robinson, on that important matter.

IIIId.

III^d. A letter from the said gentleman, (at my request) to your Lordship, dated the 14th of August 1770, to animate your Lordship, by sending you elucidations of the great success of our English fleets, since the revolution, and to prepare a fleet on the present occasion.

IVth. A letter from the said gentleman, (at my request) dated the 20th of September 1770, offering plans to distress the enemy, and to bring them to terms: reimburse not only the Manilla money, but all arrears and expences, and to ruin their navy; the heads of which plans were inclosed to your Lordship.

REMARK. If your Lordship had listened, or given attention to these letters, or the conversation mentioned, you might have had a charte blanche, instead of the late convention with Spain; but, I suppose, you judged a convention sufficiently honourable for your royal master.

Vth. A letter from me to Mr. Mac Allester, to give Mr. Robinson for your Lordship, dated the 30th of October 1770, which Mr. Robinson delivered accordingly; inclosing a grand constitutional bill, with plans for stationing of ships to prevent the enemy from insulting us in any quarter, and to destroy the whole navy of the family compact, in case of a rupture: by this bill, an unexceptionable scheme is laid, for the support of the army, navy, and militia; &c.

REMARK.

REMARK. What has your Lordship suggested, or what can you suggest to your King and country, against the merits of this bill, and the plans annexed.

VI. A letter from Mr. Mac Allester to your Lordship (at my request) dated the 3d of January, 1771, to rouse your Lordship to prepare against the common enemy, and fit out a fleet of thirty sail of the line.

VII. A letter from the said gentleman, (at my request) dated the 23d of February 1771, on the same principle as above.

REMARK. No answer, no determination, nor worthy consideration.

VIII. A letter from me to your Lordship, dated the 29th of March 1771, to spirit you up in the service of your king and country; inclosing the pamphlet, intitled, The Guide to the Freeholders of Great Britain, and the Livery of London: requesting your Lordship to present the said pamphlet to his Majesty, for perusal before publication; with a design that his Majesty might see the transactions of his ministers, and know the sense of his people: also, by the way of postscript, recommending charity and humanity to your Lordship, for his Majesty's distressed subjects in foreign parts.

REMARK. Ministers very seldom convey to their sovereign the true sense and desires of the subjects. The Guide was to open your eyes, to clear yourself of a junto that
never

never intend to serve the house of Hanover. The neglect of not taking care of his Majesty's distressed subjects, in foreign countries, is very impolitic, which time will shew.

The conduct of your Lordship, and that of Lord Sandwich, since I sent you the Guide, demonstrates that you, nor him, do not intend to do any national service, as pointed out in that pamphlet; or that you have any essential matter of your own to offer or transact, according to your stations; except those weak frivolous measures since adopted, which have been filched from my proposals; by sending out a few ships to be stationed, where three times the number are absolutely necessary.

His Majesty has not, on the present conjuncture, in any part of the world, a fleet to preserve his possessions, or offend those of his enemies, which are liable to be taken whenever they strike the blow: therefore, as mentioned in the Guide, buckram fleets, only for expence.

IXth. A letter from me to your Lordship, dated the 25th of June 1771. Remarking your impolitic conduct, and that of Lord Sandwich, and inclosing you a packet for the king.

Xth. A letter from me to Mr. Robinson, dated the 2d of July, 1771; requiring an answer to the above letter.

XIth.

XIth. A letter from me to your Lordship, dated the 4th of July 1771; requiring an answer to my letter of the 25th of June.

REMARK. No answer to these three letters. The king's packet returned opened, containing my letters to his Majesty, and the two pamphlets: whereby his Majesty is precluded from knowing the grievances of his subjects; the insults, depredations, and breach of treaties committed against him, and his kingdoms, by our foreign enemies; or of the political means to bring his enemies to submit to such honourable conditions, as ought to be prescribed by an English monarch: but on the contrary, and to the astonishment of Europe, our men of war, in the annals of George the Third, &c. at a time of profound peace (as our ministers assert) are not permitted to enter a Spanish port.

XIIth. A letter from me to your Lordship, dated the 6th of September 1771; charging you with opening a secret packet addressed to his Majesty; also regarding your ministerial abilities, and those of your junto: but still recommending salutary measures, and not to drive the last stake through the heart of your King and country, but to embrace those wholesome propositions therein contained.

REMARK. Your king and country, according to my idea, can never overlook the insult of opening a secret packet addressed to the king, when the person is known and responsible for the contents. I ask your Lordship, when you had read the contents, how dare you secrete from
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the throne the only wishes, and desires of their sovereign to his people, to make himself happy, as well as them. If this is ministerial politicks, Britons ought to take care of their aris & focus.

XIIIth. A letter from me to your Lordship, dated the 31st of October 1771, to animate you once more, notwithstanding your supineness and lethargetic conduct to your country, as well as your ill conduct to me, not to let slip the balance of power of Europe, in your administration.

REMARK. No answer, altho' two applications to obtain one; at last you was pleased to condescend to say, that hurry of business prevented your consideration of those material points: I fear, my Lord, your king and country may well ask you, what more material subject engages your attention, and what you have in petto for the material service of both: as likewise, what harm they have done you, that his Majesty is not worthy of the balance of the power of Europe.

The system of my ideas, laid before your Lordship, centers in the following observations, viz.

First, Whether a limitation of placemen and pensioners, is not necessary for the support and preservation of the constitution, and according to the laws of the land. It is true, by a former and corrupt minister, an expedient was found for rechoosing; and a wicked expedient you know it was for this nation.

IIId. Whether the scheme for uniting the colonies with their mother country, by mutual ties of interest, and supporting the real dignity of the crown in those parts : to the end of forming a grand western empire, is of any use to either ; and whether the author of this interesting project, deserves attention ?

IIIId. Whether the royal navy of England, to be maintained without incumbering the revenue, with the present expence ; the savings thereby being convenient for other purposes, be of any use to Great Britain ?

IVth. Whether a nursery for seamen, and manning our navy at one fourth of the present charge, is of any advantage to the state ?

Vth. Whether preventing the great loss of near two millions sterling annually to his Majesty's revenue by smuggling, and the destruction of our manufactories, is of any advantage to Great Britain ?

VIth. Whether preventing fraudulent bankruptcies is of any use or service to a commercial nation ?

VIIth. Whether the balance of power of Europe is of any consequence to Great Britain ?

VIIIth. Whether a despicable enemy, lately suffered to increase her navy to almost an equal force with that of Great Britain, ought not to have been prevented in augmenting

augmenting that force; whilst the prior rights or claims to Falkland islands, remain undetermined; many insults committed not brought to account for; besides an explication wanted of the true motives of such warlike preparations by our enemies and aggressors?

IXth. Whether the duties on soap, candles and leather taken off; is of any use to the trade, and the subjects of Great Britain?

Now, my Lord, per contra creditor for your administration, on which I must premise: that not one single stroke of national service or œconomy has occurred to Great Britain, since the last peace; nor one single stroke in your Lordship's administration, as you have closely followed those precedents. Great Britain at this hour is loaded with an immense national debt, of about 150 millions, owing to administration, not having taken any measure since the peace 1763, to ease the subjects of their oppressive taxes. A treasury without money, consequently all our resources; if any are remote, and we are engaged already in a pacific war. Financeering on the sinking fund, a fund adopted and appointed to preserve, and maintain public credit: a broken reed of support.

Europe in amazement at our supineness and pusillanimity, in cringing to the imbecility of one power, and cowardice of the other, as well as at our conduct, in suffering our enemies to augment their forces, and give them time to find resources for our destruction; therefore according to the old system, we shall be obliged to fight up hill for

the first four or five years of a war, at the immense expence of fifty or sixty millions sterling, if public credit stands fast, and a most dreadful effusion of English blood, without ally or friend (if not mercenary) to redeem the conduct, ignorance and perfidy of administration.

The grand object of administration seems limited to endeavour to find out stewards for the Chiltern Hundreds, canvas boroughs, interfering in elections, and to obtain places and pensions, for men destitute of merit; I appeal to the public if these assertions are not facts.

Now, my Lord, had you given me timely conferences or audiences, and settled matters on those important objects, which I had the honour to lay before you, neither our situation, or the present state of Europe would appear at this present æra, in such an unhappy and dreadful prospect; for I proposed to myself, that your Lordship would not object, to open the next session of parliament with the following budget, or something to that purpose. That is to say,

Mr. Speaker,

I have held some conferences with Mr. Harvey, an English gentleman, who hath laid before me several important plans and proposals for national purposes.

I have communicated them to the King, his Majesty approves thereof, and will in due time order them to be
laid

laid before this house for their examination, and concurrence; not doubting but his faithful commons, will join in the most effectual means, to render them productive of those great and important services, they promise to elucidate for the honour and interest of his crown, and the welfare of his people.

I have also to acquaint you, that Mr. Harvey is willing to pledge himself at the bar of this house; that his plans and proposals are every way practicable; and more, that the ground work is so national, that he is assured it will meet with the general approbation of your constituents.

IMPRIMIS.

A plan for an equal proportion of electors or voters in the choice of all representatives in parliament, being the only means to abolish bribery and corruption, or give freedom to elections.

II. A plan for limitation of placemen and pensioners, by which all party faction ceases.

III. A plan to maintain without national expence, or incumber the revenue, seventy sail of the line, peace or war.

IV. A plan for the balance of the power of Europe, and to maintain thirty sail of the line in the Mediterranean sea; without national expence, to preserve the said balance, exclusive of the seventy sail abovementioned.

V. A.

V. A plan to prevent smuggling.

VI. A plan to prevent fraudulent bankruptcies.

VII. A plan to man the navy of Great Britain on emergency, at one fourth of the charge less than adopted lately.

VIII. A plan to take off the duties on soap, candles and leather.

This, my Lord, was the budget I intended that you should offer your country, and as intimacy, and confidence must have cemented our friendship, I should have disclosed full as many more material interesting objects of public utility: give me leave then to ask your Lordship; what could frighten you from such generous offers; I hope neither independency, or measures could prevent your acceptance. I equally hope, that the member who reads this letter in his place, will move that your Lordship may attend in yours: as likewise, that he will move for an humble address to his Majesty to know the reasons, why this budget and plans, or proposals herein mentioned, were not taken into consideration and adopted; not doubting but every county, city, borough, &c. will address the throne for their adoption, and the removal of bad ministers; as likewise that they will give instructions to their members, to examine and support them, and take notice of those that dissent from the question.

I could,

I could, my Lord, say a great deal more with respect to our present dangerous situation, our commerce, and our finances; but conclude in wishing you would act as an English minister of state.

My Lord,

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most, &c.

LETTER from Mr. HARVEY, to Lord NORTH.

My Lord,

(N^o 18.)

I Have had the honour of addressing myself to you on public affairs near twenty months.

I have taken all the steps an independent man can properly adopt; to induce your Lordship to embrace salutary measures.

Britannia's critical situation is now on the anvil: this session of parliament determines its happiness; by their deliberations, conduct and measures: the event is great!

I think my letter, &c. are worthy your Lordship's attention, and proper for his Majesty's perusal, before they
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are made public; which they will be in a very short space of time.

You will find yourself greatly mistaken, if you imagine them to be chimeras, or flights of imaginations: I will be so bold as to say, that no man can serve more essentially his King and country.

You may wrap yourself up that opposition is sunk. I say, my Lord, it will rise superior to any ever yet known in these kingdoms; for independency! and measures! the consequences and events, time only can shew.

Involve not the best of Kings in further difficulties; let his reign be kept up with real dignity, honour, ease, and quiet.

A man that has nothing to ask; has generally nothing to fear: attendance and dependance is not his province. If you want me, send for me,

I am, with all respect,

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

King's Street, Soho,
Feb. 26. 1772.

S. C. H.

LETTER

LETTER from Mr. HARVEY to Lord NORTH.

My Lord,

(N^o 19.)

I Have had the honour of frequently addressing your Lordship from July 1770 to this period, to engage you in many national points; but am sorry to say, to little effect.

My last was dated the 22d of February 1772, to prepare you for extraordinary events; one of which is now at length brought into parliament; and that is, our India affair; in which the security of the crown of these realms to the house of Hanover, is (in my opinion) strongly connected, and the happiness of Great Britain at stake.

National advantages touching this important subject, were offered by me to be laid before your Lordship in July 1770; and I will venture to say, that from what I have seen, from what I have known, and from what I have long experienced in trade and commerce, no man in this kingdom could have given your Lordship better elucidations on this subject; but coming from me, they merited not your attention, the reason of which you are the best judge.

The matter in question, was contained in one of the plans, framed by me in 1762; if you had considered
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that, which relates to this object, the present dilemma in which the affairs of India are enveloped, and which now appears so incumbered and gloomy, had been prevented; as well as other miscarriages, that may yet come on the tapis, which my letters and propofals have pointed at.

By this neglect of the affairs of India only, new measures and fecrecy are now immediately requisite, in what should be done. Courage, with a particular conduct foreign and domestic, I may assert, are essential, or else all may be lost.

Your Lordship's proceedings in this business, puts me in mind of a ship at sea, that has lost her rudder, which does not a little alarm me; pardon the simile.

You would have well employed a few of your leisure hours, to have probed this affair to the bottom before this crisis; that is, to have considered, and weighed our political commerce, with the commercial interest of the company.

The advice of disinterested men, lays the best foundation for sound politics; had your Lordship laid this important object before parliament the beginning of the session, with the lights you might have received from one of the plans, and then ordered in a bill, you would have given general satisfaction, loaves and fishes will not always be found.

Your Lordship knew before the meeting of parliament, that this subject was to have been canvassed, and for you to be so indifferent, as to let such an interesting matter remain

remain dormant to the end of the session, and then to suffer it to be taken up by a director is somewhat unaccountable.

Had it been taken up by the whole body of directors, and their weight and consequence ten times greater than they are; I should as a minister have looked upon them as a respectable body or company of merchants, designed to govern their own commercial interest only, and whatever could promote that end, on which it behoved government to aid and assist; but when the national wealth and power of the Kingdom is at stake, it became your Lordship, as the ostensible minister, not to neglect the glory of your royal master, and interest of the publick; such neglect plainly indicates, that you think it not material to government, what fate it meets with; however, my Lord, the result and issue will lie at your door. A dreadful one perhaps to think of! *Qui vult decipi, decipiatur.*

If you are desirous of changing the motto, adopt independent parliaments, adopt proper and effectual methods, for the relief of the industrious poor, arrange the India bill, with that force and benefit, that it should carry for the public, and then I promise you to reverse the motto, with *veni vidi vici.*

Enfin, my Lord, permettez moi devous counsellier de prendre garde comment vous allez hazarder les interêts de notre foverain & país; outra cella je vous promet vous avez devant vous le plus grand object, ou coup politique, quoique épeneux qui a jamais été présenté en aucun

tems à un ministre dans ce país. L'affaire exige tout votre attention: ainsi jouer bien votre rôle, "

I am with all respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very humble Servant,

King's Street, Soho,

April 18, 1772.

S. C. H.

LETTER from Mr. HARVEY, to Lord NORTH, dated
May 22^d: — ~~April the 18th~~, 1772.

My Lord,

(N^o 20.)

I Had the honor of addressing your Lordship the 18th of last month on matters relative to our East India affairs; advising certain precautions steps to be taken in the progress of that business; but the measures which I now perceive are on the anvil, and the neglect of others which ought to merit your attention, plainly indicates the ruin of that company, and a fatality to this kingdom, unless timely prevented by your adopting those, which may prevent both, and which your Lordship might have long since easily done, had you listened to my proposals, which I should have been happy to have explained.

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In my letter of the 6th of September 1771, I beseeched you to take into your consideration, the miserable state and condition of our industrious poor, in order to prevent thousands of our distressed countrymen from starving, many of whom are perhaps equal in abilities and honesty to either of us, if merit was regarded; but your junto and you, by a total neglect of their calamities, seem to triumph in their distresses.

Your Lordship cannot but remember, that I offered in that letter to remove the primum mobile of all these misfortunes, in my proposal for taking off the duties upon soap, candles and leather, without prejudice to his Majesty's revenue, or laying any additional tax, inward or outward; as oppressive taxes must in the end, sooner or later, terminate in the destruction of the state, and all that is dear to us: but these things have not as yet merited your attention in the smallest degree; from which I fear it will be concluded, that those who have framed, adopted, and established; or those who will continue such unconstitutional and injurious taxes, to the destruction of our trade and manufactories, and the insupportable oppression of the poor, may hereafter be treated as the perpetrators of the Popish plot of the 5th of November, and have their effigies burnt in every county, city, town or village throughout Great Britain, as the stigmatizing marks of a just resentment,

This, my Lord, I think is plain English, and very intelligible; but to take off such duties by financeering
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pro tempore only, and then to place them upon another denomination; whereby the people may be no less oppressed, will be merely robbing Peter to pay Paul. To redress such evils cannot be settled by the communication of a letter, as a diversity of points are to be considered, and secrecy observed; since therefore you have declined every overture I have made for the public utility, the people must for some time longer submit to the yoke that gauls them with want.

As the production of your Lordship's budget was a long time in embryo before it was delivered, I am sorry to acquaint you that had I been a member of that assembly wherein it was brought forth, I should have started from the place with amazement at the absurdities displayed from its monstrous birth.

Your Lordship acquaints the public on this occasion, that the various provisions for the service of the current year, amount to six millions three hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds; and that administration ever since the last inglorious peace, for these ten years past, has at length by extraordinary magic, found out a saving of the mighty sum of one million eight hundred pounds.

Then after a long rigmarole, and probing into the funds, you want to dispose of one million five hundred thousand pounds; after which you appeared bewildered in a labyrinth how to impose on the public, and stockholders, to demonstrate that every man should have an equal right to subscription in your scheme: but as you
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knew that would not be the case, and the contrary would appear, you have had candour enough to declare, "that you would patiently bear, those suspicions or misrepresentations of serving your particular friends," which you knew would follow: a condescension worthy your Lordship's integrity and probity.

Your next hypothesis, is, upon a prognostication of your own, that a ten years peace may subsist to answer your financeering expectations; and another is a kind of comparison between our former wars and our late one. Your Lordship's arguments on these topicks, convey neither sense nor reason to us, being mere absurdities, and calculated for to throw dust in our eyes; but the good people of Great Britain are not to be dazzled or blinded in this manner, by your sophistry or chicanery; they are desirous of knowing precisely, and honestly, how the produce of the sinking fund; how the produce of those heavy taxes, laid on them for these last ten years, and which amounts to more than what supported our armies, our navy and immense subsidies, &c. &c. in the last expensive war (as you call it) how the four hundred thousand pounds from the East India Company; how the additional land tax of one shilling in the pound, after a ten years peace, so injurious and dishonourable to the nation; how the produce of half a million annually by lotteries for the same period, besides many, &c. &c. has been applied, during the time of our celebrated and profound peace; upon enquiring into which they will I fear find, that the wisdom and policy of your Lordship's financeering, will be similar to robbing the right hand.

hand pocket of a guinea, and putting a bawbee into the left, in order to replace the loss

Ingenious as you are, my Lord, in endeavouring to palm on, or insinuate to the public, that if they will trust the present administration another ten years, that seventeen millions of the national debt will be discharged by them; this will not do, nor will this bait go down: how comes it to pass, that so much was not saved, and applied to this good purpose for the last ten years; when the enemy was less in a state to give us offence, and all has been tranquility and harmony between us, during the above time; except the insult at Falkland islands, which you pass over without the reparation which was due to the honour of the British flag; and except the insults and depredations committed, and still with impunity at times carrying on, against the English subjects in Spanish America.

Had it transpired from the budget, that this money had been employed (as most people think it was) to pay foreign ambassadors, influence elections, support majorities, reward the heroes of St. George's Fields, and Brentford, and such like secret services; the acknowledgement would have at least shown candour and ingenuity; and prevented perhaps further remarks or enquiry, as truth and probity are every where prevalent; but this is all concealed, and no expence appears on these accounts.

In a word, my Lord, I think you have concealed or mistaken the application of the greatest part of this money; and that if your administration wants to rule ten years more,

more, you should have laid aside the one million five hundred thousand pounds, and the like sum for the year ensuing, making in the whole three millions, which in two years may be necessarily converted into golden hammers to knock the said good people of England on the head; and if that expedient fails, or that you should find any of them so stiffnecked, as to hazard his head in resisting the blow, you can then apply your golden pills again (*secundum artem*) with hopes to cure the evil.

But I am, my Lord, convinced that your ideas of a peace for ten years to come are void of a foundation; and yet you have trumpeted out this incredible and indeed inconsistent notion; to deceive and flatter the public, with fallacious expectations, as mariners fling out a tub to amuse a whale; for you must, or should know, that the common enemy is now carrying on projects and preparations for our destruction, or you know nothing at all; and that unless your complaisance continues to over look new insults and depredations to the dishonor of the crown and kingdom, with the ruin of our commerce and manufactories, we shall become dupes to foreign politics, and be in the end obliged to give hostages for our good behaviour, to those very enemies we lately humbled and chastised.

From the contemptible Budget, you tell us, the two preceding wars before the last were beneficial, and that in the space of ten years, we shall be able to undertake such wars, as neither to gain or loose by the issue: that these wars were neither brilliant, victorious, or any conquest acquired as in the late war. What strange doctrine is this, when

every one knows the contrary, by the losses and disgraces we suffered in both; for if your Lordship will reflect on the events, the first was by those who would have bartered away the honour and interest of their country to the enemy, as men in trade do their commodities in foreign markets, for other goods or money, called the merchants war; but so neglected by administration, as to be productive of no one benefit; and as to the other, I beg you would ask Lord Suffolk, whether his father was not, with Lord Cathcart, sent to Lombare as pledges for our good behaviour. I should let your Lordship know, that Lombare is a place in Paris, where the Pariziens pawn their best effects for ready money: but to return, if these wars were a benefit to England, I never will dabble in such a state policy; therefore, to conclude this article, in as brief a manner as possible, I must say, that for your Lordship to adopt such politics and œconomy, is inconsistent with British honor, or the duty of a faithful servant to the crown.

I come now to the last war, the beginning of which was carried on as dishonourably and infamously as either of the two preceding, by those, who through ignorance, avarice, or treachery, were giving up their country: but the national cry produced a Pitt, by whose conduct, courage and councils, the eyes of Majesty were opened, otherwise this nation had been sacrificed: what then can be said of the man, or men, who advised the then sovereign of the people's hearts and purses, to dismiss the person, who to that hour had saved his royal master's crown and kingdoms, and extended his dominion throughout the universe, with unprecedented glory and success. Nothing, but that the artful di-

disturber of the public repose, might give up our most valuable possessions, on concluding a most scandalous and infamous peace; upon which, without speaking of our other invaluable conquests, the inestimable acquisition of the Havannah alone, the richest jewel of the Spanish diadem, the key to the golden mines of Mexico and Peru, as well as to all the Spanish Empire in South America, was basely restored to that crown; the bare ransom of which might, and would have paid off at least sixty millions, as the expences of the war, or half our national debt; without reckoning what we ought to have compelled the then reduced French to have paid for their transgressions.

It is, and will be always owing to the above surrender, that Spain and her allies will be ever in a condition, whilst she holds that important fortress, to insult and disturb us. I am for these, and a thousand reasons more, as are the generality of mankind in all the courts and kingdoms of Europe amazed; when a man of common sense can say, that this infamous transaction can meet the applause of an English subject, unless for some self-interested view, or to the prejudice of his country.

Unjustly, my Lord, from your budget, you seem to exclaim against the expensive measures pursued during the last war, as if they were all the effects or consequences of Lord Chatham's administration, without distinguishing the particular part he had therein; but, in my opinion, you egregiously mistake the point, in laying the whole to his charge: wretched connections! treaties and subsidies, for supporting and sustaining the English army on the continent, whereby

his predecessors entered into, before he came into office, to redeem the nation from the desperate state to which they had reduced it.

He could not, but by slow marches, break through their schemes or contracts, without risking too much; and had this enormous expence, which I apprehend amounts to about sixty millions, amounted to as much more, his greatest enemies must acknowledge, it was money well laid out, by the successes his plans and operations soon after produced: for had he continued at the helm, and entered upon negotiations for a peace, with the same lights and advantages that were given his unworthy successor, there is no man living can doubt but that he would have not only preserved the Havannah, till the expences of the war were fully satisfied, but also some of the most valuable conquests our victorious armies had acquired: and in his turn, obliged our enemies to have given sufficient hostages for their behaviour in futuro: this would have been acting the part of a patriotic minister, which he most certainly would have done; and evidently shews, that the extraordinary expences of the last war, lies at the door of the peace maker's administration; which makes me lament, that I cannot give to Lord Chatham's successor, to your Lordship, or to any one of your junto the appellation of patriotic, as above-mentioned.

Was I to add a further sum of thirty millions to the above, I should not be out, I think, in the charge, as I am persuaded, it will cost this nation more than that sum to restore her to, or reinstate her in, that degree of wealth, strength

strength and power, which she possessed in 1763, when the tide of our successes was wickedly and wantonly cut off, by our infamous and inglorious peace: for the preservation of which, the same kind of disgraceful measures, are, and have been ever since pursuing, as were practised to bring on that scandalous and unhappy catastrophe.

Your sham œconomy, and paultry saving of one million five hundred thousand pounds, from ways and means, additional taxes, immense revenues, &c. &c. on which you would exult (is surely miraculous). It puts me in mind of a trunk maker, in whom we find more noise than work; or of the weaver's phrase, great cry, but little wool; in fine, your budget, like the mountain, has brought forth a mouse.

Far from any other species of vanity, than that of serving my king and country, without any interested views, permit me to say, that if your Lordship had produced or followed the popular budget, which I had the honour to communicate to you last September, and referred the nation to its contents; you need not have feared lying open to the dread of your enemies, foreign or domestic, (as you express it): as the terrors of the first would have immediately vanished, and the scourge of the latter would have been laid aside.

With regard to the present scarcity of provisions, which have been daily increasing the distresses of the poor since your administration; I shall say but a few words in this place touching that interesting subject.

Before

Before a remedy is applied to any disorder, natural or political, the cause of the evil should be carefully examined into. If such investigation should take place, with respect to the distresses of the poor, by the insupportable price of provisions; I doubt not, but it will be found that our parliaments have, for some years past, badly employed great part of their time, in making inclosure bills; by which they have increased their estates to double what they were thirty years ago, to the prejudice of the poor: that this measure has been owing to administration, to oblige the landed interest, and secure their suffrages, and which has been the grand source of the calamities under which the poor labour, or the primary causes of their present distresses, is but too apparent.

II^d. by consolidating many farms into one, the villagers are drove to seek habitations elsewhere, or they and their families to perish in the roads or fields. To my knowledge, many villages and cottages, which have been well inhabited, are now depopulated; and I have known in other places, where an hundred of those poor people have enjoyed comfortable habitations, that they have not now a cow amongst them, nor can a pint of milk be got for love or money, even to rear a child: (think administration, think of this!) and say, under what other administration did ever the people of England suffer such oppression: ask the poor villagers the cause of this distress, as I have done, and they will tell you, Farmer such a one has engrossed the lands, the cows, the corn, milk and butter, with all the other necessaries of life; that he will only sell at market when

when he pleases, according to his humour or caprice, and that they are frequently reduced to live on wash and grains.

To remedy these intolerable grievances, a law, I think, should be provided, that all persons who have made any acquisition to their estates, by inclosure bills for thirty years past, should erect a certain number of cottages on those lands, and portion out a certain quantity thereof to each cottager, at a reasonable rent, as before those inclosure bills were enacted. Also, that no person, under any denomination shall hold, or take upon lease, any quantity of land, plowing or grazing together, exceeding the yearly rent of £ 300. per annum: that any inhabitant wanting a peck or bushel of any kind of grain, from any farmer living within the parish, (if he has such grain), may oblige the said farmer to sell the same to him, at the price the said grain bore the market day preceding, allowing proper notice for threshing.

That all millers refusing to grind a sack or bushel of bread corn to any labourer, artificers or workmen, or adulterating the same, or defrauding in measure (being paid the usual price for grinding) shall be punished by fine and imprisonment, on the oaths of one or two credible witnesses, before a magistrate.

That no calves shall be killed for slaughter, during the space of two years, from Midsummer to Michaelmas, this being the best time for rearing of calves; by which a sufficient number of black cattle might be raised, for the grazier to buy in his lean stock, as usual: and by which means
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the price of meat will be reduced to four pence a pound for the best pieces, and two-pence halfpenny, or two-pence a pound for the indifferent pieces, on an average, in the London markets, and in proportion in other counties ; as the grazier is obliged, at present, to pay one third more for his lean stock, than formerly.

That when the London markets, (that is to say on Smithfield stones) runs upon an average at five-pence per pound on the whole ox, or sheep, a free importation of all kinds of provisions for a limited time be granted, and that all provisions so imported, be sold in the public markets, and no where else ; and the officers of the parish to inspect that such provisions are not kept in warehouses, &c, to enhance the price, or be destroyed : a standard measure for grain, is worthy the peculiar attention of the legislature, to be established throughout the kingdom.

As to bread corn ; wheat, by the incredible increase of rents, as above-mentioned, cannot well be cultivated at less than four shillings a bushel, Winchester measure, when carried to market ; and as a medium should be observed between plowing and grazing, it never should be lower : yet if by bad seasons, or other unforeseen accidents, wheat should rise to 48s. per quarter, a free importation, not only to wheat, but of all kinds of grain should be allowed for one year certain, to give the merchant time to send to different foreign ports, for public relief ; with a proviso, that in case any vessel loaded with such grain, shall be detained by contrary winds, or other casualties, so as to prevent their arrival within the limited time, such merchant should
not

not be liable to pay duty for such cargo ; and that no merchant, or dealer in such commerce, shall hoist or conceal such corn in any warehouse, in order to enhance the price, but expose it as conveniently may be, to public market for sale, till the corn is sold, otherwise such cargo is of no national service.

That when wheat is at 45 s. per quarter, a prohibition is necessary to prevent exportation of all kinds of grain whatever, and the distilling of any grain.

That when wheat is at 40 s. per quarter, a free exportation of wheat be allowed, without any bounty.

That when wheat is 35 s. per quarter, a free exportation be allowed, with the bounty of five shillings as formerly.

That when wheat is 32 s. per quarter, a free exportation and bounty as above, besides government to form magazines in the different counties, to keep a sufficient quantity for the relief of the manufactories, &c. by which means we shall be enabled, not only to supply ourselves, but become a granary to Europe ; which will entitle us again to receive, as we formerly did, from the different parts thereof, near a million and a half for grain annually ; an object, well worth the attention of administration.

In order to build magazines for the above purposes, an additional duty of 12 l. 12 s. might be laid on every horse,
P
mare,

mare, or gelding, exported from his Majesty's dominions.

A duty of 20s. to be laid on every coach, horse, chaise, or saddle horse, except cart horses that work for hire, stage coaches, waggons, or any kind of farmers horses, with a limitation for a number for those persons that keep post chaises for hire, and paying 20s. for every horse so employed, beyond the number limited.

That these duties be collected, without any additional expence of officers, that the monies so arising be laid out in bank stock; that the bank give four per cent for the said monies for interest, and the said interest added to the said stock annually, till wanted for the above occasion.

When wheat is become so plentiful, as to come under the price of 32s. per quarter, it is the interest of government to continue it at such price, as I can prove that administration will gain so considerably thereby, that the above taxes may be laid aside, or applied to other national purposes, when the exigences of the state require it; and that the advantages to the farmer resulting therefrom, will encourage them to keep their plowed lands in full tillage.

The grand relief that I proposed for reducing the duties on soap, candles and leather, have not only been neglected, but the price of these commodities, are now by that neglect considerably raised, to the prejudice of our manufactories,

tories, and oppression of our poor; which prompts me to repeat again and again, that the subject has no occasion to be loaded with such taxes, if ministers will be honest.

Slavery and oppression attend only on tyrannic governments, which, when distressed, find not either friends or money. I write not, my Lord, as you very well know, for hire, for party, for post or pension; having, in all my applications to you, waved such expectations: and though I esteem your private character, I think your ministerial one inconsistent with a true born Englishman, and unconstitutional, wanting that spirit to exert yourself for your country, and that knowledge that is necessary in trade and commerce, for one in your high station.

Think me not your enemy in saying thus much, but rather regard me as a friend, who would wish to see you shine without flattery, in the applause of your countrymen, for your public services.

Allowing me to have ranfact your budget, I am, nevertheless, willing to give you credit for every thing it has produced beneficial to the public; as I find you are snarled at, without reason, by some, who, ignorant of the true state and defence of this kingdom, bark at you for keeping a maritime force in time of peace. Surely such men must be destitute of a knowledge of trade and commerce, or the necessary force to preserve the strength and wealth of this kingdom, when arguments are made use of to lessen those securities of our happiness, and the bane of foreign poli-

tics, for the subverting our happy constitution: let them look back into the administrations of Walpole, Pelham, Fox and Newcastle, and they will find that most of the miscarriages that have attended us during such a length of time, as well as your Lordship's in July, 1770, was entirely owing to the want of, or in misconducting that maritime strength, which will be always requisite to our preservation.

Had your Lordship adopted my propositions when offered to you, the expence of supporting the different squadrons, necessary for the defence of these kingdoms, and preservation of trade, would have amounted to but a trifling sum, with regard to the immense advantages to be received: let me therefore suppose that the expence of fitting out, equipping and repairing our different squadrons, amount annually to between two or three millions, there is not an Englishman, I am certain, but what would cheerfully contribute a considerable part of his fortune to defray the expence, provided he was sure that the money would be employed for that service only, and not for ministerial views.

It is not keeping English armies on the continent, granting subsidies to foreign courts, and negotiating continental treaties that can relieve our distresses at home; the last being for political reasons sometimes necessary, but the former always fatal to our true interest; had you, my Lord, followed the plans laid down before you in the pamphlet called the Guide, where the number of ships for the defence of his Majesty's Kingdoms, and the protection of

of our commerce in all parts of the world, are clearly specified as well for peace as war, you would have found that the terror of these fleets would render our enemies tame and submissive, and that our trade and commerce may arise to such pitch as to afford wealth and riches, not only to pay all the expences of such equipment, with a considerable part of our national debt, but also to reduce many of our heavy taxes without incumbering the people with new ones; nothing but an attention to those plans and national measures can answer the above ends: before I conclude, I will refresh your memory with the latter part of his Majesty's speech on the opening of this session. "The concerns of this country are so various and extensive as to require the most vigilant and active attention, &c. &c. &c."

His Majesty, as far as lies in his power, promises the duty of a King and father to his people. Your Lordship will not presume to tell him that every point is settled.

"That the Lords and Commons have cheerfully concurred with his measures, and that nothing remains now only to recommend to their care, but to maintain and keep peace and quietness in their different districts, and that his people shall always be sensible of his paternal care for promoting their happiness."

This early notice, my Lord, is for you to avoid making so gross an imposition on your sovereign; because you know that nothing national is effected, but the raising artfully the supplies. I say, my Lord, the people will find that the essential business is left undone.

That

That is, our India affairs, the grand resource of wealth and commerce, neglected and left to chance; in all probability, before next session, ruined.

Our Portugal and Spanish commerce so clogged and neglected, by administration, by suffering insults and encroachments from those two powers, that our merchants cannot keep up their factories, and support that commerce, which has been so great a balance in favour of this nation so many years, owing to the present administration.

Our Mediterranean trade, before the meeting of the next session, will be full as deplorable: our American affairs in no better condition, for no care has been taken to promote a reciprocal commerce between the mother country and the colonies for mutual advantages, without mentioning the neglect to the known dignity of the crown in these parts.

Our enemies in full force to play what game they please, our woollen manufactory the staple commodity of this kingdom at its last gasp, and without a vigilant care, protection and management of the legislature infallibly ruined.

Ask your King and country if there are not material objects to examine into before this session is ended, or any prorogation is made.

My Lord, if neglected, my pen shall be devoted in my countries cause, nor will I ever leave your Lordship, or any other

other minister till redress is given. My pen shall rouse Britons, to endeavour to keep them from ministerial corruption, oppression and slavery. Force me not then, my Lord, to represent the grievances I have laid before you, with their aggravations, and to set forth in a publick manner, that you have deserted the means, the ways of your sovereign's happiness and his prosperity, because I cannot answer for the resentment their injuries may excite.

Though I can answer for myself that I should be sorry to see any disturbance upon such events, because I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's

Very humble Servant.

May 22,
1772.

F I N I S.

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